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SPEECHES

BY

LORD IRWIN

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INDEX TO H. E. LORD IRWIN'S SPEECHES, VOLUME II.

A

	PAGE.
Adi Dravida Mahajana Central Sabha, Madras, Address from the —	70
Agricultural Museum at Kolhapur, Opening of the —	22
Ajmer, Prize-giving at the Mayo College and address from the Old Boys' Association of the Mayo College at —	155
Ajmer, Istimrardars of, Address to the —	153
Ajmer Municipal Committee, Address from the —	151
Aligarh Muslim University, Address from the —	259
Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India, Address from the —	73
Anjuman-e-Mufid-e-Ahl-e-Islam, Madras, Address from the —	61
Arundhatiya Mahasabha, Madras, Address from the —	70
Associated Chambers of Commerce, Opening of the annual meeting of the — ..	273

B

Banquets,	
Speech at Baroda	90
Speech at Cochin	45
Speech at Hyderabad	75
Speech at Jaipur	337
Speech at Kolhapur	29
Speech at Malerkotla	122
Speech at Manipur (Imphal)	300
Speech at Mayo College, Ajmer	162
Speech at Trivandrum	47

B

	PAGE.
Baroda,	
Speech at Banquet at ———	90
Birdwood, H. E. Field-Marshal Sir William,	
Farewell Dinner to ———	254
Bishop Cotton School,	
Opening of a new Hall at the ———, Simla ..	237
Bombay,	
Address from the All-India Muslim Federation at ———	88
Bombay Chamber of Commerce,	
Farewell address from the ———	375
Bombay Millowners' Association,	
Farewell address from the ———	377
Bombay Municipal Corporation,	
Farewell address from the ———	382
Bombay Muslim Committee,	
Farewell address from the ———	380
C	
Calicut Municipal Council,	
Address from the ———	43
Calcutta,	
Annual Convocation of the Serampore College at ———	269
Calcutta,	
European Association Dinner at ——— ..	289
Calcutta,	
Laying of the Foundation-Stone of the new Headquarters Building of the Institution of Engineers (India) at ———	286
Calcutta,	
Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Asso- ciated Chambers of Commerce at ——— ..	273

	PAGE.
Calcutta,	
Unveiling of the Bust of the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose at —	284
Catholic Indian Association of Southern India,	
Address from the —	67
Cauvery Metur Canal,	
Opening of the — Bridge at Tanjore ..	50
Chamber of Commerce, Bombay,	
Farewell address from the —	375
Chamber of Commerce, Madras,	
Address from the —	54
Chamber of Commerce, Southern India,	
Address from the —	54
Chamber of Princes,	
Opening of the 9th Session of the — ..	136
Chamber of Princes,	
Opening of the 10th Session of the — ..	341
Chambers of Commerce,	
Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Asso- ciated — at Calcutta	273
Chambers of Commerce and Industry,	
Address to the Federation of Indian — at Delhi	125
Chelmsford Club Dinner	354
Child Marriage Restraint Act,	
Reply to Muslim Deputation at Delhi in connec- tion with —	16
Christian, Indian,	
Address from the — Community	371
Cochin,	
Speech at Banquet at —	45
College, Mayo,	
Prize-giving at the — Ajmer and Address from the Old Boys' Association ..	155

	PAGE.
College, Mayo,	
Speech at Banquet at —, Ajmer	162
College, Rajkumar,	
Prize-giving at the —, Raipur	265
College, Serampore,	
Convocation of the —	269
Conference, All-India Police,	
Opening of the —	320
Conference, All-India Shia,	
Address from a deputation of the — ..	179
Conference, Opium	186
Conference, Universities',	
Opening of the — at Delhi	1
Convocation of the Delhi University	165
Convocation of the Serampore College	269
Coorg Addresses	34
Coorg Landholders' Association,	
Address from —	34
Coorg Planters' Association,	
Address from —	34

D

Dehra Dun,	
Opening of the Forest Research Institute at —	10
Delhi,	
Chelmsford Club Dinner at —	354
Delhi,	
Laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Central Hospital, —	84
Delhi, Citizens of,	
Garden Party given by —	372

V

D

	PAGE.
Delhi Fine Arts Exhibition,	
Opening of the —	134
Delhi, Muslims of,	
Address from —	175
Delhi University,	
Convocation of the —	165
Depressed Classes Federation,	
Address from the Madras Provincial — ..	70
Dinner,	
Chelmsford Club, Delhi	354
European Association, Calcutta	289
Dinner (Farewell) given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government ..	243
Dinner (Farewell) to H. E. Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood	254
District Board, Malabar,	
Address of welcome from the — at Calicut ..	43
Dominion Columns,	
Unveiling of the — at New Delhi ..	326
Durbar at Lucknow	115

E

Engineers, Institution of,	
Laying of the foundation-stone of the new Headquarters building of the — at Calcutta	286
European Association Dinner, Calcutta ..	289

F

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Delhi,	
Address to the —	125
Fine Arts Exhibition, Delhi,	
Opening of the —	134
Forest Research Institute,	
Opening of the — at Dehra Dun	10

G

	PAGE.
Garden Party given by the citizens of Delhi ..	372
Ghose, Sir Rash Behari,	
Unveiling of the bust of the late — at the High Court, Calcutta	284
Government of India Secretariat,	
Entertainment for the —	352
Gowda Community,	
Address from the — at Coorg	34

H

Hospital,	
Laying of the foundation-stone of the Central — at Delhi	84
Hyderabad,	
Speech at Banquet at —	75

I

Imphal (Manipur),	
Speech at Banquet at —	300
Indian Christian Community,	
Address from the —	371
Indian Red Cross Society, and St. John Ambulance Association,	
Combined annual general meeting of the — ..	202
Istimrardars of Ajmer,	
Address to the —	153

J

Jaipur,	
Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of —	330
Jaipur,	
Opening ceremony of the new Water Works at —	329
Jaipur,	
Speech at Banquet at —	337

K

	PAGE.
Kodhava Sabha,	
Address from the — at Coorg	34
Kolhapur	
Opening of the Agricultural Museum at — ..	22
Kolhapur,	
Opening of the O'Brien's Technical School at — and the unveiling of the Statue of Her Highness the Dowager Maharani of —	25
Kolhapur,	
Speech at Banquet at —	29
Kolhapur,	
Unveiling of a statue of Sir Leslie Wilson at —	28

L

Landholders' Association,	
Address from the Coorg —	34
Landholders' (All-India) Deputation,	
Address from the —	230
Legislative Assembly,	
Address at the Delhi Session of the — (1930)	94
Legislative Assembly,	
Address at the opening session of the 4th — (1931)	306
Legislatures,	
Address to the combined — (1930) ..	215
Legislatures,	
Farewell address to the —	366
Lucknow,	
Address from the members of the Ex-Royal Family of Oudh at —	112
Lucknow,	
Address from the Municipal Board of — ..	105

L

PAGE.

Lucknow,		
Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh at ——— ..		108
Lucknow,		
Durbar at ———		115
M		
Madras,		
Address from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India at ———		73
Madras,		
Address from the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India at ———		67
Madras,		
Address from the Corporation of ——— ..		51
Madras,		
Address from the United Planters' Association of Southern India at ———		59
Madras,		
Addresses from the Arundhatiya Mahasabha, Adi Dravida Mahajana Central Sabha, Madras, and the Madras Provincial Depress- ed Classes Federation at ——— ..		70
Madras Chamber of Commerce,		
Address from the ———		54
Madras Presidency Muslim League,		
Address from the ———		61
Madras Provincial Depressed Classes Federation,		
Address from the ———		70
Malabar District Board,		
Address from the ——— at Calicut		43
Malerkotla,		
Speech at Banquet at ———		122
Manipur (Imphal),		
Speech at Banquet at ———		300

Mayo College, Ajmer,			
Prize-giving at the — and address from the			
Old Boys' Association			155
Mayo College, Ajmer,			
Speech at Banquet at —			162
Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government,			
Dinner given by the —			243
Mercara,			
Address from the — Municipality ..			34
Milowners' Association, Bombay,			
Farewell address from the —			377
Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern			
India,			
Address from the —			61
Municipal Committee of Ajmer,			
Address from the —			151
Municipal Corporation of Bombay,			
Farewell address from the —			382
Municipal Council of Calicut,			
Address of welcome from the —			43
Municipal Board of Lucknow,			
Address from the —			105
Municipal Corporation of Madras,			
Address from the —			51
Municipality of Mercara,			
Address from the —			34
Municipal Committee of New Delhi,			
Address from the —			81
Municipal Board of Shillong,			
Address from the —			303
Muslim Committee of Bombay,			
Farewell address from the —			380
L&PSV			

M

	PAGE.
Muslim Federation (All-India),	.
Reply to — at Delhi, in connection with the Child Marriage Restraint Act	16
Muslim Deputation,	
Address from the — at Bombay . ..	88
Muslim University, Aligarh,	
Address from the —	259
Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab,	
Address from the —	193
Muslims of Delhi,	
Address from the —	175

N

New Delhi,	
Ceremony at the Indian War Memorial Arch at —	328
New Delhi,	
Laying of the foundation-stone of the Red Cross Building at —	149
New Delhi,	
Opening of the Red Cross Society Headquarters at —	324
New Delhi,	
Unveiling of the Dominion Columns at — ..	326
New Delhi Municipal Committee,	
Address from the —	81
North-West Frontier Province,	
Address from the Nawabs, Khans and Raises of —	183

O

Opium Conference,	
Opening of the —	186

	PAGE.
Oudh, Members of the Ex-Royal Family of,	
Address from the —	112
Oudh Taluqdars,	
Address from the —	108

P

Peshawar,	
Address from the Nawabs, Khans and Raises of the North-West Frontier Province at —	183
Planters' Association,	
Address from Coorg —	34
Planters' Association of Southern India,	
Address of welcome from the United — at Madras	59
Police Conference,	
Opening of the All-India —	320
Police Parade at New Delhi	369
Princes, Chamber of,	
Opening of the session of the —	136, 341
Punjab,	
Deputation from the Muslim Zemindars of the —	193
Punjab,	
Deputation from the Sikh Community of the —	209
Punjab Government, Members and Ministers of,	
Dinner given by the —	243

R

Rajkumar College, Raipur,	
Prize-giving at the —	265
Red Cross Building,	
Laying of the foundation-stone of the — at New Delhi	149
Red Cross Society,	
Opening of the — Headquarters at New Delhi	324

	PAGE.
St. John Ambulance Association, and the Indian Red Cross Society,	
Combined annual general meeting of the — ..	202
Sangli,	
Opening of the New Krishna Bridge at — ..	20
School,	
Opening of the O'Brien's Technical — at Kolhapur	25
School, Bishop Cotton,	
Opening of a new Hall at the —, Simla ..	237
Secretariat, Government of India,	
Entertainment for the — at New Delhi ..	352
Serampore College,	
Convocation of the —	269
Shia Conference,	
Address from a Deputation of the All-India —	179
Shillong,	
Address from the Siems of the Khasi and Jaintia people at —	303
Shillong Municipal Board,	
Address from the —	303
Sikh Community,	
Deputation from the — of the Punjab ..	209
Simla,	
Opening of a new Hall at the Bishop Cotton School, —	237
Simla,	
Opening of the Y. M. C. A. Building in — ..	200
Southern India Chamber of Commerce,	
Address from the —	54
Southern India United Planters' Association,	
Address of welcome from the — ..	59

T				PAGE.
Taluqdars of Oudh,				
Address from the —	..	..	..	108
Tanjore,				
Opening of the Cauvery Metur Canal Bridge				
at —	..	..	..	50
Trivandrum,				
Speech at Banquet at —		..	..	47
U				
United Planters' Association of Southern India,				
Address from the —	..	..	..	59
Universities' Conference,				
Opening of the — at Delhi		..	..	1
University, Aligarh Muslim,				
Address from the —	..	..	..	259
University, Delhi,				
Convocation of the —	..	..	..	165
W				
War Memorial Arch, Indian,				
Ceremony at the —	..	..	..	328
Wilson, Sir Leslie,				
Unveiling of a statue of — at Kolhapur		..	..	28
Y				
Young Men's Christian Association,				
Opening of the — building in Simla		200
Z				
Zemindars, Punjab Muslim,				
Address from a Deputation of the —		193

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SPEECHES BY LORD IRWIN.

1929.

OPENING OF THE UNIVERSITIES' CONFERENCE AT DELHI.

In opening the Universities' Conference at Delhi on the 30th October 1929, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to join you to-day at the inauguration of your proceedings, and to be able to welcome to Delhi such a distinguished body, representative of the whole of Indian University life. I know that all of you are busy men, ill able to spare the time demanded of you in attending a conference like this and it is cause therefore for all the greater satisfaction that such a large number of delegates should be present.

Of the need for a body such as yours I think there can be no doubt. The institution of the inter-University Board was the direct outcome of resolutions passed at the first Universities' Conference held at Simla in 1924, and I think that those to whose initiative that Conference was due may rightly congratulate themselves on the results which have sprung from their endeavours. Since 1916, when Government may be said to have first aimed at the localised residential and unitary type of University, India has made rapid strides. The number of her Universities has increased more than three-fold. Moreover, the course of University reform in other countries and the report of the Calcutta University Commission have had

Opening of the Universities' Conference at Delhi.

their effect both on the type of new institutions established in India and on the character of reorganisation which some of the older Universities have undergone. Such important developments as these naturally suggested the need for co-ordination, and this, I am glad to say, has been met to a great extent by the Inter-University Board. Its record of work, since its inception, whether in compiling information regarding the courses of study and curricula of Indian Universities or as a convenient forum for the exchange of ideas regarding the life and ideals of these institutions among those most closely associated with them, has been wholly admirable. Indeed, when I consider the results you have achieved, I feel the hesitation natural to one who offers advice to a body of experts on their own subject. But for reasons which I will shortly make plain I think there are few more important things in these days than Universities, and I wish therefore in this perspective and as a layman to make such comments as I may upon University education, in the hope that others more competent may be assisted to find a satisfactory solution of the problems which here face educational statesmanship. Let me in parenthesis say that I make no apology for affirming that such problems exist. A country that felt itself to be immune from the necessity for periodic overhaul of its educational policy would either have attained to perfection which is denied to human effort, or have unwittingly fallen into that paralysing atmosphere of self-satisfaction which spells stagnation. Neither is true of India. India is rapidly growing. Her problem is nothing less than the adaptation, without too violent jar or stress, of an ancient and organic structure of society to the dynamic forces of evolution that are driving the modern world. New forces are moving, unloosing new energies, kindling the imaginations and hopes of millions of the future citizens of India at their most impressionable age. Can this ardour of youth, this

Opening of the Universities' Conference at Delhi.

coursing of blood through the young veins of India be utilised and directed to constructive ends, or will it become an explosive force, charged with incalculable danger to the future of the land ? This question should be written in flaming characters over the desks of all who guide public opinion or policy ; and that is why I said just now that I thought there were few more important things than Universities.

Let us look back. The first Indian Universities which were founded some 70 years ago on the model of the London University aimed primarily at ascertaining, by means of examination, the proficiency acquired by candidates in different branches of knowledge. Teaching was left to Colleges. In some of these, students fell under the influence of teachers nurtured in the traditions of the older British Universities, and thus imbibed ideals of conduct which helped to produce not only scholars, but men endowed with the light of idealism and with force of character. But the first Indian Universities did not, in the earlier stages of their existence, concern themselves directly with training and developing the personality of those on whom they conferred the hall-mark of scholastic proficiency. Though the legislation of 1904 went some way to recognise the wider functions of a University in the matter of discipline and residence, it was not until 15 years later that, as a result of the Calcutta University Commission, their scope of activity was definitely conceived as embracing not merely the training of intellect but the formation of character. In the light of this conception some Universities have been reorganised, some have been created, and the experience of the working of these institutions, though it is too short to permit final judgment, has already given us much material for synthesis and review.

Opening of the Universities' Conference at Delhi.

And this brings me to what is surely the kernel of the whole matter. What do we really expect from and what is essentially the function of a University? If I had to answer in a sentence I should say "The function of a University is to create and maintain standards". Let me amplify what I mean. I mean principally three things. There is first the standard of learning and research which Universities, as the homes of scholarship, owe it to themselves to preserve. And if learning and research are to have their real value, are to be more to a man than mere graceful accomplishments and decorative adjuncts of his life, they must be human enough to fit into and join up with the various categories of man's activity. I think this is true of all learning. The technical sciences are obviously related to the necessities of our ordinary existence at every turn. History too, and philosophy, and literature, whether ancient or modern, all have their points of contact with everyday human life, and their lessons ring most true when we feel that we can read our own experience in them.

Second, I would assert the necessity of a right standard of judgment. A man's training at a University has definitely failed if he leaves it without such an appreciation of values as may give him a just sense of proportion, a knowledge of how much—for all his store of learning—there is yet for him to learn, and some instinctive sense of the mystery of the universe and of the mystery of man's place in it. Whatever the channel through which this comes into and takes shape in his mind, it seems to me indispensable to real education. And here again in playing his part in the world and in his dealings with other men, whether as politician, administrator, employer, or in professional or business life, a man is trebly armed who knows intuitively the relative importance of all the numerous elements which every human problem must

Opening of the Universities' Conference at Delhi.

contain. Or at least he must have sufficient of the quality, call it imagination or what you will, to appreciate that such elements exist, and if, by fault of training or for any other reason, he lacks this faculty, he is as a man who sees himself in a mirror which shows him his own face magnified and nothing more. His own problems, his own position, his own perspective absorb too much of the picture, and hopelessly obscure and distort his view of persons and things beyond himself. Some of you—and it is not irrelevant to my present argument—will remember the reply given by a wise Master of a famous Oxford College to a lady who asked him what he thought of God. “Madam”, he said, “I have always thought it of more importance what God thinks of me.”

Nor need we fear that such breadth of mind or judgment as I should desire my University to inculcate would result in a type of man halting in decision or uncertain of opinion. That is never likely to spring from foundations of thought and reflexion securely laid. Rather perhaps will it breed a wise tolerance, and teach a man the secret of winnowing the good from the evil in the strangely mixed amalgam that constitutes the world of men and things with which we have to deal.

And third, the standard of conduct. At a University a young man is learning to make use of liberty. He has left the discipline of home and school behind him, and he is given, in greater or less degree, a new found liberty in action, and liberty in study. The time has come for him to put to the test the discipline he has learnt, and on his response to this demand will largely depend the success or otherwise with which he fills the position to which his education should entitle him.

Three standards—learning, judgment and conduct—I have suggested to you as the things that a University must hold in view. Together, each playing its part, they

Opening of the Universities' Conference at Delhi.

will form human character. And the vital importance of securing such standards is apparent when we think that on University men must largely fall the burden of leading others in all the various walks of public life.

Are then, we must ask ourselves, our Universities fulfilling these requirements ? It is vital that they should. For the youth of India to-day will, when they are men, have responsibilities graver than perhaps they realise. The political future of India with all its implications of civil and military obligation will depend largely on the character of the generations now passing through their University courses. On them will largely depend the future quality of the Public Service. On their capacity will largely turn the future expansion and development of India's agriculture and India's industry. And in all these things they will succeed or fail according as they can be assisted by their University training to acquire that poise of body, mind, and character which is the indispensable equipment for their task.

I have spoken of University education as having for one of its main objects the training of those who are destined to be leaders of the nation. And it is well, I think, to remember that there is a real distinction between the functions of a University and of educational institutions of a lower order. No one indeed would suggest that these latter have not their essential part to play. One might as well say that the foundations of a building are inferior to or less important than the top story, or, to vary the metaphor, the simpler cells in a living organism less necessary to its life than the more delicate and complex. Both types of institution are essential for any country ; and complementary to each other. But they are also fundamentally different, and a clear recognition of this difference is necessary to secure for each its maximum

Opening of the Universities' Conference at Delhi.

efficiency. If a University must of necessity be concerned to prepare those it trains for work different in quality from that which falls to the bulk of the population, it follows that a University is bound to exercise selection, not indeed on any class grounds but on grounds of ability and capacity to profit by its teaching, among those who may apply to be enrolled upon its books.

The results of recently instituted competitive examinations in India force the layman to wonder whether this fact is always borne in mind. The disproportion of successes among the various Universities seems to lead inevitably to the inference that some demand and are satisfied with unreasonably low standards of proficiency. It may be that the older order of things required less exacting tests ; that the occupations for which the Universities prepared their students in former days demanded merely a modicum of mechanical qualities ; that the excess of the demand over the supply could have had no other result. But that is past and we have to ask ourselves to-day whether the true ideals of a University are sufficiently appreciated, or whether Universities themselves and parents and students, under the influence of the past, are not in some danger of demanding and being satisfied with too low a standard for degrees. It was after all a thoroughly fallacious syllogism by which a speaker once sought to champion a certain University whose standards were lower than they ought to be. " It is the business of a University," he argued, " to grant degrees. This University grants a great many degrees. Therefore it is a very good University ".

But, whatever the cause, the gravity of the effects of low University standards can hardly be exaggerated. They lower a University's reputation. They debase it from what is its real and only purpose—the maintenance of those standards on which our civilisation depends, and

Opening of the Universities' Conference at Delhi.

which ought to be to civic life exactly what a high standard of workmanship is to the craft concerned.

Gentlemen, your knowledge of these matters is deeper than mine and I leave it to you to judge whether I am justified in the misgivings which I have attempted to express. Nor shall I presume to prescribe any ready-made panacea. Remedies that profess to be easy are generally ineffective and, in seeking your expert aid in diagnosing and curing the malady, I am conscious that my prescriptions are those not of a specialist but of a general practitioner.

I have laid, I hope, not undue emphasis on the part that Universities must play in the building up of character. For this I have the high authority of the Calcutta University Commission and of the example of the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. If this part of their work is to be done efficiently, Universities in India must, I fancy, more and more evolve on residential and tutorial lines or, if they must retain their affiliating character, insist on the provision of adequate facilities for higher teaching in the constituent colleges, and for the fostering in their colleges of a healthy and stimulating corporate life among the students. They must on the one hand see that their standards of instruction and examination are high enough to ensure that those who attain them are really capable of performing the tasks for which they will be nominally declared proficient, and on the other insist on maintaining such standards of admission as to exclude those who have neither the capacity nor equipment to profit by University training. I see that in their review of the growth of education in British India, Sir Philip Hartog and his colleagues have made the suggestion that, if Government were no longer to insist on a University degree as a passport to service, except for higher appointments, the pressure on Universities and colleges would probably be relieved.

Opening of the Universities' Conference at Delhi.

This suggestion, along with others in the review, is one on which a body such as yours is eminently qualified to give an opinion, and you will perhaps give it your consideration. One other objective I would put forward for your consideration, namely, the prevention of uneconomical overlapping among the large number of Universities that now exist in India. It would clearly impose a great financial strain on those responsible for the upkeep of these institutions to equip each one of them all for the efficient study of all branches of the Arts and Sciences. It would also be wasting the opportunities for specialisation that the history or the environment of particular Universities provide. This question seems to need special study at your hands.

Gentlemen, my excuse for detaining you so long is your own kindness in asking me to open your Conference this year, and the feeling that in practical affairs it is the privilege of the large body of amateurs who constitute the public to appraise the work of the experts. If the experts wish their achievement to be assessed correctly they must keep the amateur in mind, and help him to judge them aright. It is in this spirit that I have addressed you. But I have also wished to keep in mind the larger public outside. University reform, even if it were begun, would be shortlived if public opinion did not realise its value and lend to it its support. As parents and guardians, as employers, as leaders of opinion, it is the members of the public who have to be convinced of the need for reform. In particular the parents, whose natural affection for their children is often apt to lead them to form exaggerated hopes of their capacity, have to be educated to a recognition of the importance of impartial discrimination so as to save themselves the expense, and themselves and their children the disappointment, that comes of giving a University education to those who are naturally unfitted for it. It

Opening of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun.

is at once your privilege and your duty to study the necessity for, and the scope of, University reform ; to suggest measures for the consideration of those with whom the duty of taking decisions may rest, and to rouse and educate public opinion. I wish you every success in the discharge of your heavy and important responsibility.

OPENING OF THE FOREST RESEARCH INSTITUTE AT DEHRA DUN.

7th November 1929. In opening the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun on the 7th November 1929, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have all listened with the greatest interest to Mr. Rodger's account of Forest Research in India and at Dehra Dun, and of the inception and development of the Institute which I am to have the honour of formally opening this morning. It is an occasion of no small significance. This Forest Research Institute is, I believe, the largest and most complete in the British Empire, if not in the whole world, and its completion is an event in which India may well take pride. It is a very great pleasure to me therefore that I should have been given the opportunity of taking part in this ceremony.

I remember that my first thought on seeing the layout of the Institute three years ago was that the buildings and their setting were in every way worthy of the great forests with which this country is endowed, and of the fine work that has been, is being, and is yet to be done towards their development and utilisation for the benefit of the people of India. And now remembering that the Indian Forest Department has to deal with nearly one-quarter of the area of British India, that it makes an annual profit of nearly three crores of rupees, and that it

Opening of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun.

has such wide opportunities of increasing the prosperity of the people, not only in the villages and remote tracts, but also by the development of trade in commercial centres, I feel that those who have planned, and those who have found the money for, this Institute, have been inspired by no unworthy conception of its potential value to the life of India.

Many of you have a much better acquaintance with the forests of India than I can claim, but even in the journeys that I have performed up and down India and Burma, in hills and in the plains, I have seen enough of the country's wonderful wealth of forestry to realise the value of the trust we have in our keeping and our obligations to use it to the best advantage. The control of our forests has, as you know, already been transferred in two Provinces and it is quite possible that a similar development may before long be seen in other Provinces too. But, where an Imperial asset of such value is concerned, my Government have felt that a great responsibility will still rest upon them, and they have therefore undertaken the financing and direction of forest research. Research is the essential counterpart of the splendid work that is carried on from day to day and from year to year by the officers of the Indian Forest Service, often in face of danger and generally in that isolation which is a stern test of character and of devotion to duty. I feel no doubt that those whose part in the drama of Indian forestry will lie within the four walls of these buildings will make the best use of the great opportunities afforded to them of assisting their Service to achieve even finer results than India has yet seen.

I suppose the first question which anyone—in this utilitarian age—will ask is “What use is all this research? What can the Institute actually show in the way of a dividend on all the money spent upon it?” I confess

Opening of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun.

that not long ago I asked Mr. Rodger the same question, and he has been good enough on more than one occasion to give me some account of what has been done since the inception, in a small way, of the Institute in 1906. In the belief that it will be as interesting to my audience as it was to me I will try and summarise something of what he has told me.

Take the Silviculturist's branch. He is the medium by which information on silvicultural subjects is supplied to forest officers all over India, as well as in other countries, and he can, by keeping in close touch with the problems of all Provinces and with progress made in all parts of the world where forests are of importance, give invaluable help to enquirers from every forest division in India. From the investigations of this branch the owner of a forest, Government or private, can learn the age to which his trees can be grown so that the maximum interest on the invested capital may be realised, and the manner in which the greatest possible quantity of good timber can be produced. When planting a new forest, the methods evolved at Dehra Dun, or evolved elsewhere and recorded at Dehra, may save ten years in the time taken to form a plantation, giving a direct gain of nearly 25 per cent. in the present value of the crop. The silvicultural branch can give, and has given, most valuable assistance in the afforestation of barren lands, and I have little doubt that its aid will be called in to help the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, now that that body has begun its work of improving the methods of the Indian agriculturist, by showing how to establish fuel plantations to save valuable manure for the fields.

Then comes the question of utilising the trees when they have been grown. Mr. Rodger has given us some account of the economic side of Research, and I propose only to supplement this by a few instances of actual

Opening of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun.

results. Spars for aeroplanes, poles for gun-carriages, stocks for Army rifles, sleepers for railways, are all the subject of exhaustive research at Dehra Dun, and thanks to that research have attained a considerably higher degree of efficiency. The Railways have saved many lakhs of rupees by employing modern methods of preserving second-class woods so that they may be used as sleepers, and large plants are now in operation in the Punjab and in Assam. The Government Rifle Factory at Ishapore will save nearly £10,000 a year by adopting the methods that have been worked out here of seasoning walnut for rifle stocks. The Railways are building seasoning kilns at Lillooah, being convinced by the result of the experiments made here that Indian timbers can be so treated, and their value greatly increased. The Dehra Dun experimental work has also been embodied in the new seasoning kilns at the Gun Carriage Factory at Jubbulpore, where they are giving every satisfaction. After many years of work at Dehra Dun, bamboos are coming into their own for paper pulp, and two companies are now being floated in London to work the enormous bamboo forests in Burma, the technical member of the Boards being the pulp expert, who has just retired from this Institute. It is expected that these two companies will be the forerunners of others which will work the extensive bamboo forests of India and Burma, which are now standing more or less idle. Another important question in India is the manufacture of matches from indigenous woods, and, on the recommendation of the Tariff Board, proposals are now being considered for extensive experimental work and for a survey of the forests which contain potential match woods so that India may, as far as possible, produce all her own matches.

In other ways too such as in assisting the manufacture of turpentine, oils from grasses, medicinal drugs, gums and other products, the Economic Branch has done work

Opening of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun.

of the greatest practical utility, and a continually increasing demand is being made upon them from every quarter for technical information.

In this Institute too incessant warfare is carried on against the insects and pests which affect the growth of forest trees and damage their timbers. Of all the injurious species the heartwood borer of sal must, I think, bear the Entomologist the heartiest grudge, for its ravages on sal forests have by the Entomologist's efforts been enormously restricted in recent years. There was lately an epidemic in which it was found that no less than five and a half million trees had been destroyed by this borer,—a loss of forest capital of approximately 13 lakhs of rupees. Thanks largely to the advice of the Dehra Dun Entomologist the control operations taken in hand to deal with this outbreak have been so successful that the attack has now almost abated and a loss of several millions of rupees has been prevented.

I have said enough to indicate to you the tale of romance and achievement which is being written here. For myself, I have been fascinated by what in frequent conversations with Mr. Rodger I have learnt of the possibilities which lie before us, and I only wish that I were competent to initiate you, as he has sought to initiate me, into the mysteries of botany, chemistry and mycology which are conducted in their allotted rooms in this Institute. The work of these departments is indispensable to the success of our Research organisation and to the economic utilisation of our forest resources. But I have tried to give you some idea of what the Institute is doing. Nor have I time to refer to the valuable educational work done at the colleges allied to this Institute, for the training of officers in forestry. The work done here, which owes so much to Mr. Rodger's own efforts and to the unceasing interest he and those under him have taken in making it worthy of

Opening of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun.

their great charge, is of the very greatest importance, and the construction of these buildings is cause for legitimate pride and satisfaction. Buildings, however, are not everything. It was because my Government realised this fact that, on the initiative of Sir Muhammad Habibullah to whose interest and enthusiasm the Forest Department owes so much, and whose presence here to-day has to our great regret been unavoidably prevented by the duties awaiting him on his return from his responsible mission to Geneva and London, they appointed recently a small but expert Committee, under the presidency of Sir Chunilal Mehta, to advise them about the functions and policy of the Institute and the future of its activities. We are greatly beholden to the Committee for the valuable report which they submitted this summer and which was made public very shortly after it was received. In that report, they made a number of most helpful suggestions and laid down with admirable judgment and lucidity the line of policy which should be pursued in the future. I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging our indebtedness to them. Complete examination of their report must necessarily take time, but I am happy to be able to say that the bulk of their recommendations have already been taken up in consultation with Mr. Rodger and that we hope to give effect, in due course, to very many of them. We intend within the limits of our financial liability to give this Institute, now so finely housed and located, the scientific staff which it requires, and to omit or neglect no measure which we think will make for its continued success and greater usefulness.

The Institute and the various allied activities of which it is the centre must, as I see it, aim at the discharge of a double purpose. Of the most effective utilisation of Indian woods I have already spoken, but it is not less our

Reply to Muslim Deputation at Delhi.

desire to train Indian *personnel* in all the technical branches of forestry research work. The governing consideration must remain that of efficiency, and I am certain no Indian who is concerned to see this branch of India's resources fully developed would be so short-sighted as to desire the employment of Indians in any technical post, just because they were Indians, without regard to their technical qualifications. In research of any kind reliable and accurate work is an absolute necessity. But subject to the maintenance of this technical standard, I yield to no Indian in my desire to see Indians filling an increasingly large place in the several posts that this Institute may have to offer.

In carrying out the policy which I have enunciated the Government of India, I need hardly add, look forward to and most heartily invite the cordial co-operation of the Provincial Governments. The future success of the Institute must depend on the goodwill of the Provinces, and I fully recognise how much the work of the Institute can be furthered, and how much more fruitful the results of its work for India are likely to be, if their co-operation and support are assured. My Government will welcome all the help that Provinces can give us in the work of co-ordinating forest research, and I feel confident that as the years pass the material gain to the country from the activities of the Institute so supported will be greater than I venture to think many of us here to-day can realise.

REPLY TO MUSLIM DEPUTATION AT DELHI.

9th November
1929.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a Deputation composed of representatives of the Muslim community at Delhi on the forenoon of the 9th November in connection with The Child Marriage Restraint Act and after hearing their views said :—

Gentlemen,—I am very pleased to have the opportunity of meeting representatives of the Muslim

Reply to Muslim Deputation at Delhi.

community here to-day, and to hear frankly from them of their anxieties in regard to the matter which has been the subject of our discussion.

I fully appreciate the strength of your feeling on the subject, and wish to state as plainly as I can what seems to me to be the relevant considerations which we all have to bear in mind.

First of all, let me remind you of the legal position by which I and you are both alike bound :

Under the Indian constitution, " The Indian Legislature has power to make laws for all persons, for all courts and for all places and things, within British India " [65 (1)].

This is a very wide power but it is governed by the provision among others of 67 (2) (b)—

" It shall not be lawful, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, to introduce at any meeting of either Chamber of the Indian Legislature any measure affecting the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of British subjects in India."

In the exercise of this power my predecessor and I think I myself have on several occasions refused sanction to bills which, by reason of their religious or quasi-religious import, would have wounded the religious feelings of a community, and the mere discussion of which therefore would inevitably have aroused sharp communal feeling. And I can without hesitation say that in all such cases any one who holds my office would scrutinise very seriously any such proposals for legislation before granting sanction.

There may be cases of purely religious and spiritual character where a civil legislature would naturally be very unwilling to intervene, unless it were with the assent of the preponderance of opinion in the community concerned. I am thinking of what Maulana Mahommed Ali, in his

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Reply to Muslim Deputation at Delhi.

very complete and interesting statement which he was good enough to give me yesterday, has referred to as 'the boundaries of Allah' which must never be transgressed.

But as I see it there are other questions, of which this Marriage question was one, which are border-line cases between sociology or civics and religion. In the statement I have just referred to Maulana Mahommed Ali has spoken of the fallacy of trying to differentiate sociology from religion. But here clear thinking is important. In a matter of this kind, it is impossible for the modern state to disinterest itself, because it clearly bears upon social questions which must be of the most vital interest to it—but in dealing with the question a civil legislature is dealing with it primarily in its civil aspect which must always remain its responsibility.

Difficulty is bound to arise for us all in such border-line cases, and we have to judge them both as men sincerely devoted to our religion whatever that may be, and also as fairminded and progressive citizens of a progressive age.

It is not only therefore a legislature which has to reconcile these conflicting duties but it is a duty which none of us can evade in forming our own private judgments.

You are rightly jealous—as I am in my own case in similar difficulties that frequently arise in England—of spiritual liberty and freedom in matters of religious faith and practice. Where the limits of the civil society and the religious organisation are coterminous these difficulties do not arise, for each is the counterpart of the other in the civil and religious sphere respectively. But neither you nor I can ignore our obligations as citizens in a civil society which is not composed only of members of the same religious profession as ourselves.

It is not necessary for me to stress the civic side of the evils of child marriage with which the bill introduced by Rai Sahib Har Bilas Sarda was designed to deal. The

Reply to Muslim Deputation at Delhi.

action taken by my Government—though it was taken in my absence—was one with which I whole-heartedly concurred, and on which for the reasons I have given earlier Government are bound to adhere to the position which after most full consideration they felt it right to adopt. The Bill, as you know, has duly received Lord Goschen's assent.

But in this particular case I understand you do not claim that the civil authority has sought to debar you from a duty enjoined upon you by religious sanction—for no Moslem maintains that child marriage is obligatory on religious grounds. I am speaking to men not only of deep religious feeling but learned in their scriptures, and I would not presume to speak to you at any length on the provisions of Islamic law in regard to marriage, whether laid down in the Qoran Shareef, the Hadis or in other authoritative sources. But I believe that child marriage is so far as Moslems are concerned an exceptional practice, and one which as a community they are not prepared to defend. I believe it is also true that in Egypt, and possibly in other Muslim countries, marriage laws have been enacted by a civil legislature.

But I take it that your chief concern is in regard to the wider principle of asserting the religious character of the act of marriage, and of ensuring, so far as it is possible for you to do so having regard to those general obligations as citizens of which I spoke just now, that religious liberties and those that are included in the Personal Law should not be impaired by civil legislation against your wishes. Thus Maulana Mahommed Ali, in his written statement, talks of Islamic law as being absolutely self-contained—a complete prescription of everything that a man shall do to God, to his neighbour and to himself. What Muslims fear, as he puts it, is the repeal of Qoranic law by a human and non-Islamic legislature. I have said enough to show you that I recognise

Opening of the New Krishna Bridge at Sangli.

and largely share your feeling on these points and you may rest well assured that I shall continue to have full regard to the sentiments you have expressed in considering whether or not sanction should be accorded to projects of legislation, and inasmuch as the future constitution of India is now under discussion I shall make it my duty to acquaint those, who may now or later be concerned with the drawing of its lines, with the views you have laid before me.

I would only add in conclusion that I am very pleased that you have seen fit to represent to me so frankly your anxieties, and I trust that what I have said will allay those that you yourselves have felt and enable you to remove anxieties from the minds of others, who were unable to be here to-day.

OPENING OF THE NEW KRISHNA BRIDGE AT SANGLI.

18th Novem-
ber 1929.

In opening the New Krishna Bridge at Sangli on the 18th November, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am deeply gratified that Your Highness should have decided to signalise the first visit of a Viceroy to Sangli by a ceremony of this kind, and to allow me to take part in a function which inaugurates an undertaking destined to be of the greatest benefit to the people of Your Highness' State. Ever since I was prevented by illness two years ago from taking advantage of Your Highness' kind invitation, I have looked forward keenly to visiting your State, and nothing could have exceeded the warmth of the reception I have received from Your Highness and Your Highness' people this morning.

Lady Irwin and I are both deeply grateful to you for the kind terms in which you have just bidden us welcome to Sangli. My visit is, by force of circumstances, shorter than I could have wished, but a Viceroy does not have to

Opening of the New Krishna Bridge at Sangli.

spend more than an hour or two in an Indian State to realise the loyalty and friendship which its people feel towards His Majesty the King-Emperor's representative. Your Highness has given expression to that sentiment this morning and to the friendly relations which have existed for so long between Your Highness and Your Highness' predecessors and the British Government, and which have been marked by honours and distinctions of which you may well feel proud. Of all those honours the most valued, I think both in Your Highness' eyes and in those of the Government, is the salute conferred upon the Chief of Sangli in recognition of the services of the State in the Great War. I have listened with great gratification to what Your Highness has said regarding the announcement which it was my duty to make on November 1st. I am glad that Your Highness feels, as I myself feel, that great value may be found in the procedure outlined therein which will enable His Majesty's Government before submitting definite proposals to Parliament to have had the advantage of free and full discussion with representatives both of Your Highness' Order and of British India.

I have had the privilege for some time of knowing Your Highness in other surroundings, and I have learnt to value the work which Your Highness has done as a member of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes. This adds to the pleasure I feel in visiting Your Highness in your own State and in seeing for myself the results of your good administration. Here in this town of Sangli the signs of prosperity are apparent in the cleanliness and well-being of the streets and in the commodious buildings which house its population. In the rest of your State I believe that conditions are no less commendable, and I congratulate Your Highness on this satisfactory state of affairs. We have one instance before us of Your Highness' thought and consideration for your

Opening of the Agricultural Museum at Kolhapur.

people in the fine bridge which I am now to open and which you have been good enough to call by my name. Much of the history of India is in its bridges ; they have played their part in the gradual consolidation of a widely varied country and varied peoples, they have added immeasurably to the prosperity and comfort of a great population. This bridge will, I am confident, be widely welcomed by Your Highness' people, and will be a very real boon both to Sangli town and the villages of Sangli State. May it long endure to remind future generations of Your Highness' solicitude for the well-being of those over whom you rule.

OPENING OF THE AGRICULTURAL MUSEUM AT
KOLHAPUR.

19th Novem-
ber 1929.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech when he opened the Agricultural Museum at Kolhapur on the 19th November 1929 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The pleasure which I felt in accepting Your Highness' kind invitation to visit your historic State was greatly enhanced by the knowledge that it would be a pleasure experienced by no previous Viceroy. Now that I have broken this fresh ground and received a welcome so genuine and cordial, I have little doubt that my successors will feel a desire to follow in my footsteps. It was, I need hardly say, a grievous disappointment to me two years ago when illness prevented me from visiting Kolhapur, and that disappointment was heightened by the knowledge that Your Highness had already made elaborate arrangements for our comfort and entertainment.

The ceremony I am now to perform symbolises what I hope is a general aspiration throughout India to-day. The recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Agriculture have aroused great interest in Indian farming, and have caused Local Governments and Indian

Opening of the Agricultural Museum at Kolhapur.

States to take fresh stock of their agricultural position, and among other things to effect improvements in the methods of the cultivator by means of shows, exhibitions and Co-operative Societies. The buildings I am now to open are Your Highness' contribution to this important movement, and bear testimony to your keenness and foresight in the development of the agricultural resources of your State. I owe you my thanks for the honour you have done me by associating my name with the Museum, which will I am sure be of lasting benefit to the people of Kolhapur.

Agriculture will always be the chief industry of Kolhapur and the main source of the State's revenue. Every advance made for the improvement of agriculture must accordingly bring wealth and prosperity to the cultivator, and by increasing the resources of the State enable the administration to progress in all its branches. I am glad therefore to be able to congratulate Your Highness on the efforts you have made and are making to study the needs of your agriculturists by the introduction of Co-operative Societies, the construction of irrigation tanks, the employment of trained Agricultural Advisers and the facilities you have recently given to the British American Tobacco Company to introduce the growth of American tobacco in the villages of your State. The measures too which Your Highness is taking to improve your forests cannot fail to be of great benefit to your people. My visit to Panhala yesterday gave me a chance of seeing something of the work already carried out and I know that Your Highness will not fail to seize any opportunity that may offer itself of further development of your plantations.

Your Highness' State stretches from the Sahyadri range to the broad plains of the Deccan. The produce of the forests, the rice and small millets of the hills, the

Opening of the Agricultural Museum at Kolhapur.

larger millets of the plains, the cotton, sugarcane, groundnut and other crops of the rich black cotton soil give a wide field for profitable research, and Your Highness has taken a wise step in establishing this Institution, of which the experimental farm should prove of inestimable benefit to your cultivators.

I am particularly interested in the measures you have taken to ensure that the results of work done here may be widely diffused among your people. The gap between research and work-a-day practice is one which must everywhere be bridged, if both are to work profitably hand in hand for the good of their common purpose. Nor I think is it easily possible to exaggerate the importance of effecting in agricultural communities as intimate a working alliance as may be between the education of the child and the industry of agriculture, which must claim his or her principal activities in later years. For this reason I congratulate Your Highness upon your foresight in attaching a Central Agricultural School to the Museum, and upon the other plans you have devised to link the energies of this plan with the common life of the great majority of your subjects.

With regard to Your Highness' proposal for an extension of the railway from Kolhapur to Dajipur, I understand that this matter is being examined in connection and relation with projects in the same area having identical aims, and I can assure Your Highness that it will receive careful consideration at the hands of Government.

Your Highness, while we are speaking, the crops are growing. We are all anxious to see this Museum, School and Exhibition started on their mission of usefulness, and I will now ask your permission to declare them formally open. Your Highness has asked me to assist you with advice how to make this Museum a success, and, though I am diffident about offering counsel to a race of farmers

Opening of the O'Brien Technical School at Kolhapur and the unveiling of the Statue of Her Highness the Dowager Maharani of Kolhapur.

on their own soil and on their own subject, I need hardly say that I shall be glad at all times to help you in any way I can. But from what I have seen to-day I feel well assured that the best guarantee of the success of these Institutions will be that Your Highness should continue to bestow on them the personal interest and understanding which you have shown in their inception. In declaring them open, I wish them a long career of increasing utility to all whom it will be their privilege to serve.

OPENING OF THE O'BRIEN'S TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT KOLHAPUR AND THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF HER HIGHNESS THE DOWAGER MAHARANI OF KOLHAPUR.

The following speech was made by His Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the O'Brien Technical School and the Unveiling of the Statue of Her Highness the Dowager Maharani of Kolhapur at Kolhapur on the 19th November :—

19th November 1929.

Your Highness, Rao Bahadur, Ladies and Gentlemen,—
I take it as a great honour that I should have been asked to unveil this statue of Her Highness the Dowager Maharani, and to open the O'Brien Technical School. You have spoken eloquently, Diwan Sahib, of the true meaning which this twofold ceremony possesses for the State of Kolhapur, and I am glad to be able to join you in congratulating His Highness upon this happy occasion. His Highness' interest in education of all kinds is no new story, and it is gratifying to know that, in accord with the growing demand in other parts of India for an extension of technical education, His Highness has decided to increase the facilities for this sphere of training in Kolhapur. The difficulty of finding suitable and adequate employment for the educated classes in India is one of the most serious problems which face us in this country to-day. Efforts

Opening of the O'Brien Technical School at Kolhapur and the unveiling of the Statue of Her Highness the Dowager Maharani of Kolhapur.

have been and are being made to solve it, but we are still far from finding the true answer to our question. A partial solution however is, I believe, to be found in industrial, mechanical and commercial employment, for which training such as this Institution will provide must clearly be the foundation. I am confident therefore that the School I have just opened will be of great and real benefit to the youth of Kolhapur. The supply of technical and scientific training however must be adjusted wisely to the demand, for it will have little value in the absence of adequate opportunity to apply it. I trust therefore that, in so far as it lies within your power, Your Highness will not fail to encourage industrial and similar enterprises which lie within the resources of your State.

In naming the school after that able Political Officer, Colonel O'Brien, who during the period in which he was Resident at Kolhapur enjoyed the friendship and trust of Your Highness, you have given public and appreciative recognition of his work and worth. The excellent relations which in the main subsist between the Rulers of the Indian States and the representatives of Government accredited to them are a subject of congratulation no less to the Rulers than to the Officers of the Political Department of my Government. Throughout the many States I have visited I have not only found these cordial relations existing but have met with memories of gratitude and affection regarding the work of Political Officers during a hundred and fifty years. The public is not always aware of this and a certain amount of ill-informed criticism has been directed against a Service which has served well not only its Government but also the States. Though it is the primary duty of Political Officers to interpret the policy and wishes of the Government of India they are ~~also in~~ in a very real sense the friends and champions of the States, and from my own experience I can say that they

Opening of the O'Brien Technical School at Kolhapur and the unveiling of the Statue of Her Highness the Dowager Maharani of Kolhapur.

are never backward in championing the cause of a Durbar, where this differs and in their view rightly differs from the point of view held by the Government of India. I trust that the measure of the usefulness of this institution dedicated in Colonel O'Brien's name will be that of the esteem in which he was held by Your Highness.

Let us now turn our thoughts to Mr. Karmarkar's fine work of art which His Highness has presented to this city, and which I have just unveiled. It is well that a city or a State should perpetuate the memory of its benefactors, and Her Highness in spite of her secluded life has done much for Kolhapur to entitle her to the gratitude of its people. Speaking in this place I need not enlarge on her charity to the weak and poor, her care for the children and women of this State, her determination to improve the conditions of life and upbringing for all. I feel sure that in these and kindred works of service of her humbler fellows she has found the secret of true and enduring happiness, and I fervently hope that she may enjoy health and strength for many years to continue her good work.

Gentlemen, your city is already indebted to His Highness the Maharaja for a statue of his late father. This second statue is a fitting counterpart. Its site too has been well chosen, at the junction of two broad thoroughfares forming part of the important scheme which has been of such benefit to the people of His Highness' capital. The roads also, I notice, are named after two men in whose hearts Her Highness' charitable endeavours will always strike a ready chord of sympathy, His Excellency Sir William Birdwood and Sir Leslie Wilson.

Your Highness, I thank you for inviting me to perform this ceremony. I can readily picture to myself the double pleasure you yourself must feel at this moment, the pleasure of a dutiful son paying reverence to an

Unveiling of a Statue of Sir Leslie Wilson.

honoured mother, and the pleasure of a good ruler commemorating in lasting form the care and sympathy of his House for the loyal people of his State. I trust that, as the eyes of future generations rest upon this statue, they may interpret it as a memorial to one who deserved well of the State she sought to serve, as an expression of that family affection which is the foundation of all human society, and as a symbol of that mutual regard and responsibility by which the relations of ruler and ruled should be inspired.

UNVEILING OF A STATUE OF SIR LESLIE WILSON.

19th November 1929.

In Unveiling the Statue of Sir Leslie Wilson at Kolhapur on the 19th November, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have had other opportunities of speaking in Kolhapur to-day and I do not propose therefore to make too great a demand upon your patience. Nor indeed, after listening to His Highness' eloquent and heart-felt eulogy of Sir Leslie Wilson, do I feel that there is much for me to add about a personality whose memory is still fresh among the multitude of friends he has left in India.

But I must thank Your Highness warmly for having allowed me the privilege of unveiling this statue. It is fitting that Kolhapur should pay such a mark of honour to Sir Leslie Wilson, for during his tenure of the Governorship of Bombay he made, in a very special sense, the interests of the States within his political charge his own. During that period several States were transferred from the charge of the Presidency to that of the Government of India. But the personal regret which Sir Leslie Wilson must inevitably have felt at this change of relations acted only as a spur on him to show how much a Governor could still do on behalf of the States in political relations with him. Upon those who were left he bestowed unremitting care and solicitude with the happiest results. His

State Banquet at Kolhapur.

genial personality won the friendship of the Rulers in a marked degree, and his passion for clean government and all good causes was a constant stimulus to the Princes and Chiefs to improve their administrations and to do all in their power for the welfare and prosperity of their people. He rightly thought that more improvement could be obtained by friendly encouragement and judicious praise than by threats and warnings. He was justified in the issue, and he often expressed his belief that many of the States in his charge could in the progressive and beneficent character of their administrations show an example to all India. I am glad to believe that he had good reason for his faith. His pride in their achievements made him an enthusiastic and whole-hearted supporter of the States in seeking to secure recognition for their just claims and aspirations, and they on their part owe him a deep debt of gratitude for his labours on their behalf.

Your Highness has good cause therefore to value his friendship and to perpetuate his memory in the statue which you see before you. I know that Sir Leslie Wilson himself appreciates very highly the honour you have done him, and that he is not likely to allow time to efface the memory of the good friends he has made among the Princes and people of the Bombay Presidency.

STATE BANQUET AT KOLHAPUR.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech 19th November 1929.
at the State Banquet at Kolhapur on the 19th November :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must begin by thanking Your Highness warmly for the cordial terms in which you have just proposed my health and Lady Irwin's. We are both most grateful to you for the welcome you have given us to your State and for all the hospitality you have shown us in it. We too have found our time all

State Banquet at Kolhapur.

too short, but thanks to Your Highness' excellent arrangements we have seen a great deal that was of interest and we shall carry away the happiest recollections of our visit.

When I landed in India three and a half years ago, Your Highness was one of the first Princes to greet me and to give me a pressing invitation to visit your State. I determined to take an early opportunity of accepting Your Highness' invitation, and I was only prevented by illness from doing so two years ago, to my own great disappointment and, I fear, to Your Highness' great inconvenience.

I have listened with much interest to Your Highness' account of the progress made in the State under your rule. Your Highness has rightly spoken in terms of praise of your late lamented father who, as social reformer and leader of his community, exercised so important and beneficent an influence not merely in his State but throughout Western India. I am pleased to know that Your Highness is pursuing the same tradition of far-sighted policy, and is building on the foundations which he has laid. I have been greatly interested in all I have heard of your late father's successful efforts to spread education among the more backward classes of the community, and to break down certain social barriers which he felt were hindering his reforms. My attention has specially been attracted to the system of hostels attached to schools and colleges in Kolhapur, and I am glad to hear that Your Highness continues to carry on this good work.

It is impossible to recall the name of your father without remembering with gratitude his loyalty to the British Throne and the Empire, and his personal work and influence which were of such value in the Great War. Nothing could have illustrated more vividly how staunch

State Banquet at Kolhapur.

and sincere a friend he was than the action which he took in the dark days when our Mesopotamian forces were beleaguered in Kut-el-Amara. I quote from the preface to the Memories of His late Highness by the present Dewan of Kolhapur. "When the garrison in Kut ran short of food and the Mahratta sepoy had scruples about eating horse-flesh, the Chhatrapati Maharaja volunteered to go to Mesopotamia and be carried into Kut by aeroplane in order to talk personally with the men, and, when this proved impossible to attempt, sent them a stirring worded appeal as from one caste-man to his brethren, which effected its object and helped to prolong their gallant resistance." I am glad to think, Your Highness, that you faithfully maintain the sentiments of your father towards the Person and Throne of the King-Emperor. The Mahrattas have been known in past history for their soldierly qualities, and Your Highness' position in this race of soldiers has recently been recognised by the grant of the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army. I take this opportunity of offering Your Highness my warmest congratulations on the high honour which His Majesty has been pleased to bestow on you. By means of the education policy initiated by your father and carried on by yourself, the Mahrattas are now able to take their place among the officials and Councillors of the State, and I trust Your Highness will find them as wise and capable in the Council Chamber as they are brave and hardy on the battle-field.

I have heard much of Your Highness' endeavours to improve the administration of your State in all its branches, and I am glad to have had the opportunity of seeing for myself the outward and visible signs of a well-governed and prosperous State. No one could fail to be struck with the general air of well-being and business-like

State Banquet at Kolhapur.

energy pervading Your Highness' Capital city, and I have noticed with pleasure the measures taken to improve the health and amenities of its citizens by the provision of an up-to-date water-supply, by the widening and improvement of streets and by the construction of two city extensions. Your Highness has also been good enough to arrange that I should see something of the agricultural side of your State and visit some of Your Highness' prosperous villages, and I have noticed with pleasure the efforts which you are making to improve the conditions prevailing in your rural districts. As the ruler of the premier State in the Bombay Presidency Your Highness occupies a very fortunate if responsible position, and you have during the short period of your rule shown that you are fully alive to your responsibilities, and that you have the interests and welfare of your subjects at heart.

Your Highness has referred to the 1862 Agreement and its effect upon your relations with your Jagirdars. As Your Highness is aware the question of the transfer to Your Highness' Government of certain powers of control over the Feudatories of your State, which had been exercised for a number of years by the Government of Bombay, has been engaging the earnest attention of my Government. It is an added pleasure to me on this occasion to be able to announce to Your Highness that with the concurrence of the Secretary of State a decision has now been made on this important question, which has not been free from difficulties. The transfer of control will shortly be effected, and it will be subject to certain understandings and with the proviso that the conditions of existing Thailies of the Feudatories shall remain in force so long as individual Jagirdars who may object to their alteration continue to hold their respective Jagirs and abide loyally by the conditions imposed upon them. In making

State Banquet at Kolhapur.

this announcement I sincerely congratulate Your Highness that the conditions which existed when restrictions were placed upon your relations with the Feudatories in 1862 have now passed, and that the exercise of good government over a continued period of years has made possible this change, which is of such far-reaching moment in the history of your State.

I listened with great pleasure to the tribute you paid to the assistance and advice which you have received from His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, as you did from Sir Leslie Wilson before him, and to the value of Colonel O'Brien's and Major Lang's connection with your State. I am certain that Sir Frederick Sykes will be anxious to do everything in his power to maintain those happy relations which subsisted between Your Highness and his predecessor. By Colonel O'Brien's retirement Government lost an experienced officer and Kolhapur and its ruler a sincere friend, but in your present Resident you have one who is, I feel sure, a worthy successor to him.

Your Highness, I felt that, as the first Viceroy who has ever visited Kolhapur, I might claim your patience for a longer time to-night than otherwise I would have dared. I must not try it further, except to say that the welfare of Kolhapur, as of all the States of India, will always be a matter of the deepest concern to me. Your Highness has shown us this evening that you look forward to the solution of the important constitutional problems that now face the Indian States in a mood of quiet optimism. You rightly realise that the personal ruler who has won the affection of his subjects by his efforts for their welfare and betterment has nothing to fear for the future and his entrenchments are stronger than those provided by Treaties and Engagements, however sacred these are rightly held

LPSV

Coorg Addresses.

to be. You recognise also that British India and the States cannot stand apart in the future of this great country, but must co-operate in some constitutional form for the common good of the whole. The solution may not be easy. The Butler Committee has examined the existing position so that we may know our foundations before we begin to build, and we may expect that Sir John Simon's Commission will also have something to contribute to the material already at our disposal on this subject. Your Highness will no doubt have noticed the announcement it was recently my duty to make of the intention of His Majesty's Government in due course to convene a conference of representatives both from British India and the Indian States, for the examination of these constitutional questions. I have always felt that, in any discussion of the future of those two parts of India which make up the Geographic whole, it was essential that British India and the Indian States should as far as possible search together for the solution in which all alike are vitally concerned. For I firmly believe that a happy issue out of many of our present difficulties ought not to be beyond our reach, and I sincerely trust that with general goodwill the procedure outlined by His Majesty's Government may prove the means of finding it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now give you the toast of our distinguished host, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

COORG ADDRESSES.

29th Novem- His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows to the Addresses
ber 1929. presented by (1) the Coorg Planters' Association, (2) the Coorg Land-holders' Association, (3) the Kodava Sabha, (4) the Gowda Community, (5) the Mercara Municipality on the 29th November :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish, at the outset, to express on Lady Irwin's behalf as well as my own our

Coorg Addresses.

warmest thanks to all those who have combined to offer us such a cordial welcome to Coorg. I need not conceal the keen pleasure it has given us to be able to pay a visit to what we have often heard, and now know, to be one of the most beautiful parts of India. Though I am fortunate among Viceroy's to be the first to see your country, I have no doubt that many must have desired to come this way and would have done so had the beauties of your country been less remote. But if Coorg has waited long to greet His Majesty the King-Emperor's representative, its welcome has perhaps been all the heartier on that account, and the expressions of your loyalty to the Throne all the more sincere. Coorg is at one with all India in rejoicing at the recovery which has been vouchsafed to His Majesty, after many months of serious illness, so patiently borne, and to our happiness so courageously surmounted, and I shall not fail to transmit to His Majesty the sentiments which the several deputations have expressed.

The addresses to which I have just listened cover a wide area of Coorg life and interests. And, apart from the pleasure it gives me to meet such a representative gathering, it is always of great value to me to be placed in possession of the thoughts and wishes of any and every section of those who go to make up the vast population of India. To the best of my power, I will endeavour to say something in regard to the many and varied matters to which you have referred.

You have in the first place mentioned certain important questions which fall within the purview of the Statutory Commission, whose report will shortly I hope be completed. I refer to such questions as the amalgamation of Coorg with one of the greater Provinces, the formation of an autonomous Karnataka Province on a linguistic basis, the grant of Provincial autonomy and the representation of Coorg in the Legislative Assembly. Material on all these possible lines of political development

Coorg Addresses.

has been submitted to Sir John Simon and his colleagues, and I hope you will not think I am merely trying to find an easy means of escape from the necessity of answering your enquiries, when I say that until that body has presented its report it would be fruitless and ill-timed for me to express any opinion on them.

I have been much interested in the plea put forward in the Land-holders' address for the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. I appreciate the feelings which have promoted this request. But Coorg is a small Province and I understand that it would be difficult to effect an entire separation except at a large increase in expense. There is too the objection that the appellate authority would be at a great distance and in another Province. If, however, any modifications of the present system are found to be possible at a reasonable cost I will certainly give such a scheme my careful consideration.

Reference too has been made to the possibility of transferring Provincial Gazetted officers every five years. Such transfers could only be made to and from a neighbouring Province, and apart from the question of expense, which would not be negligible, I understand that experience has shown that such an arrangement is not altogether free from difficulties. It will be within your recollection, too, that the principle underlying this request has been very fully debated in the Coorg Legislative Council, where it failed to commend itself to the majority of the House.

With regard to the assessment of Jama holdings, this question was carefully considered in the year 1890 by the Government of India who came to the conclusion that the assessment should not be regarded as having been permanently settled. The sanads merely ratify and confirm the tenure as defined by the custom of the country and the Standing Order of Raja Linga Rajendra. They

Coorg Addresses.

recognise the fact that, where the ordinary ryot pays ten rupees, the privileged Jama ryot shall only pay five rupees, but the lower rate though representing a concession is in no sense a fixed sum. I fear that in this matter I do not think Government can reverse their earlier decision, but I am confident that the local Administration will examine sympathetically the question of removing unnecessary restrictions on the cultivation of Jama, Umbli and Jagir lands, and I counsel you to bring to their notice any specific cases in which the restrictions may have operated hardly. You may feel sure that any such request will meet with all consideration and sympathy from your Chief Commissioner, Mr. Pears, who has the interests of Coorg and its people so much at heart.

Then there is the question raised by the Landholders' Association of exemption from the Arms Act. I should be loth to associate myself with the removal of privileges of this kind from a race which has shown itself consistently loyal to the British Government, but I feel that there is a tendency to attach to the privilege a scope which it did not originally possess. For it was not so much a permission to bear arms, as an exemption from disarmament, and I do not think that it is reasonable to claim that an exemption from disarmament in by-gone days, when travel was limited and conditions and weapons entirely different from those of today, should give a right to all Coorgs to carry such dangerous arms as revolvers throughout India. A gun is the traditional Coorg weapon and is borne by many of you as part of your Jama tenure duties, and I would remind you that the privilege of bearing arms has been reserved to you in the orders of 1924, in spite of the fact that old-standing exemptions have been withdrawn from many persons and classes privileged in the past.

The Planters' Association has referred to the question of prohibiting the import of coffee. This matter has not.

Coorg Addresses.

yet been finally decided, but I can assure the Association that the points they have raised are being carefully considered by the Government of India in consultation with the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, whose advice on this subject is being sought.

As regards propaganda through the Empire Marketing Board for the benefit of the coffee industry, I can promise the Association that any proposals they may make in this respect will receive my Government's sympathetic consideration. I may add that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research is now in direct touch with the Empire Marketing Board and is ready to consider, and at their discretion to forward, applications for grants from the Board. It is a condition of such grants that any scheme put forward must prove itself to be one of more than purely local importance, and to be of direct interest to more than one part of the Empire whether from the producing or marketing point of view.

I am glad to find that you are determined to combat that terrible scourge of many parts of India—Malaria. In 1925 an Anti-Malaria Committee was, as you know, formed under the presidency of the Civil Surgeon, Coorg, and measures have been concerted for a campaign against the disease. At the request of the Coorg Government, Lieutenant-Colonel McCombie Young visited the Province in the years 1927 and 1928 to examine and report on malarial conditions and his report is now being examined. The question of obtaining the services of an officer of the Research Institute was considered, but the cost was found to be prohibitive. The local Administration are however fully alive to the importance of obtaining expert advice, and the possibility of arranging for periodical visits of an expert from the Malaria Institute at Kasauli will be explored. A Sub-Assistant Surgeon has meanwhile been sent to Kasauli to be trained and another to the Tropical School of Medicine in Calcutta. Experimental work is

Coorg Addresses.

being carried on and, though it is too early to form a definite opinion, there are grounds for hoping for good results. I would impress upon you that such measures cannot be carried out by Government alone and that the co-operation of all is necessary if they are to be a success. Nor is it only a question of destroying mosquitoes. The disease attacks most easily persons whose stamina is weak—so that, side by side with measures for stamping out the carrier, should proceed measures for improving the standard of living.

In this direction I believe that the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture show the way to possibilities of great improvement. These recommendations are now engaging the active attention of the Chief Commissioner with a view to submitting to the Government of India a plan to develop the agriculture, including research work, and animal husbandry of Coorg and I can assure you that, when the Chief Commissioner's proposals reach us, we shall approach them with every desire to do whatever we can to help you in these directions.

I fear, however, that the configuration of the country of Coorg precludes the use of irrigation on any large scale and even such a scheme as the Harangi Project involves great expense and no small technical difficulties. I understand that the cost of the scheme is estimated to be nearly twelve lakhs of rupees and that the probable return on that sum would be very small—and in the circumstances I do not think that it would be possible for the Government of India to assist.

I recognise the importance which you rightly attach to communications by road and railway. As to the improvement of the main west coast road, I understand that the Government of Madras promised in 1922 that the question of strengthening bridges on the Tellicherry-Coorg road would be considered as soon as finances permitted,

Coorg Addresses.

and the Chief Commissioner has promised to refer the matter again to them. In the way of a railway there are of course serious physical and financial difficulties to overcome. The nature of the physical difficulties is clear even to the inexperienced eye, and I can readily appreciate the financial difficulties which arise from the high cost of constructing railways in a hilly country, and the comparatively sparse population and low productivity of the area that any railway would serve. The surveys which have been made in this area during the last 30 years have demonstrated the difficulty of choosing an alignment which would serve a sufficiently wide number of interests to make it remunerative. Further investigations however are now to be made into the prospects of a connection from Tellicherry to Makut and to Manantoddy and we must I think await the result of this enquiry.

With reference to the request made by two of your bodies for the establishment of a State-aided Bank in Coorg you are no doubt aware that the Government of India have set up a Central Banking Enquiry Committee and a number of Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees to enquire into banking conditions in India, with a view *inter alia* to the expansion of indigenous co-operation and joint stock banking with special reference to the needs of agriculture, commerce and industry. A sub-committee of the Madras Committee consisting of the Chairman and two members, with whom will be associated two members for Coorg, will examine the possibility of providing banking facilities in Coorg.

The Kodava Sabha have asked that young Coorgs should be afforded chances in the Army and the other All-India Services, and to obtain scholarships. I need hardly tell you that Coorgs have an equal chance with all others for appointment to such services. Indeed with your Chief Commissioner in close touch with you I am not

Coorg Addresses.

sure that you are not in a favoured position. I see that two Coorgs hold the King's Commission in the Indian Army and another in the Indian Medical Service and I hope that others will follow their example. There have been but few applications from Coorg for scholarships for study abroad—indeed none since 1911 when one was given for engineering. Such applications can, I am sure, always count upon the goodwill of the local Administration but I must remind you that funds for such scholarships are now provided from the Provincial revenues, so that requests should only be put forward for persons who can really be expected to benefit by higher training and are likely to be a credit to the Province of Coorg.

I am gratified to hear from the Gowda community of the support which they have given to the local battalion of the Indian Territorial Force. It is I am sorry to say not possible to find room for representatives of every community in the ranks of the regular army. The Territorial Force is however open to all and was expressly constituted with a view to communities like yours. Your young men have, of course, the same opportunities as other Indians of entering the army as officers and the same educational facilities as other communities. I trust that the Gowdas will make use of the opportunities given to them of fitting themselves for the service of their country, and I am glad to hear that this year the applications made by Gowdas for scholarships in schools show that they are conscious of their responsibilities in this direction.

Lastly, I come to the problems of this town itself and I am glad to learn that the City Fathers of Mercara recognise the obligation resting upon them in matters affecting the health and welfare of the citizens under their charge. The development of public conveniences such as water-supplies and sanitation must largely depend on local enterprise, and is of course a matter of Provincial

Coorg Addresses.

concern, but I am sure that, if a carefully conceived scheme is placed before the Local Government, they will lend to it all the encouragement they can.

The question of making a survey of the waterfalls of Coorg with a view to utilising them as a source of electric power was debated in the Legislative Council in 1927. I am not sure that the difficulties in the way of the establishment of an hydro-electric plant are fully realised. Apart from the question of whether a site with a suitable fall and flow of water exists, a very important question is that of disposing of the power when generated. A small plant such as that which would be required for the lighting of a town like Mercara is unlikely to be an economic success unless conditions are exceptionally favourable, while at present it seems unlikely, even if the construction of a large power station were practicable, that there would be a demand for power sufficient to justify the enormous expenditure that such a station would involve. I am sure, however, that the local Administration will not lose sight of the fact that opportunities for such a scheme fully exist in Coorg, should a demand for power arise within a reasonable distance.

I have tried, Gentlemen, to traverse most of the subjects you have referred to to-day, and, though I am conscious that my replies do not in all cases give a satisfactory answer to your questions, I have tried to state frankly to you what I am advised are the practical difficulties which arise on several of the matters you have brought before me. You may at least feel certain that the interests of Coorg are as much in my mind and in the mind of my Government as those of any part of India. It is now not far short of 100 years since the Proclamation was issued which announced that "the rule and dominion of Raja Vira Rajendra over the country of Coorg had now definitely and for ever ceased", and the people of the

*Addresses presented by the Calicut Municipal Council and the
Malabar District Board.*

country, tried of the old story of murder and disturbances, unanimously voted that they should be placed under the British Government. That decision, I am confident, they have never found occasion to regret, and it is gratifying to hear the assurances which have been repeated this morning of the continued loyalty of the people of Coorg. History is now moving fast once more, for Coorg as for the rest of India, and changes which were hardly dreamt of a generation ago are now in being. There are new responsibilities to be undertaken, new adjustments to be made in the old order of things. In this great task Coorg will have to play its part, and it is my earnest hope that in the outcome the people of this country, as of all India, will find contentment and prosperity.

ADDRESSES PRESENTED BY THE CALICUT MUNICIPAL COUNCIL AND THE MALABAR DISTRICT BOARD.

In replying to the Addresses presented by the Calicut Municipal Council and the Malabar District Board at Calicut on the 30th November, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin joins me in thanking you sincerely for your very kind addresses of welcome and for the assurances which you have conveyed to us of the friendship and goodwill of the people of Malabar. He would indeed show a strange lack of interest in the romance of the European connection with India, who failed to find a fascination in the coast of Malabar, where the names of Vasco da Gama, Albuquerque, Almeida were once household words, and where Portuguese, Dutch and British have in turn played so important a rôle in India's development each over a long period of years.

As you have just said, those ancient bonds of friendship have been strengthened afresh by the declaration

Addresses presented by the Calicut Municipal Council and the Malabar District Board.

which it was recently my duty to make. Every day I receive fresh proof, as I have received proof from your lips this morning, of the firmly established belief that the people of India and the people of Great Britain are now again moving forward hand in hand and in harmony of spirit towards the attainment of a clearly defined purpose. I welcome more than I can say the outlook of hope and optimism with which you view the future that lies before us, for I feel that it is in truth characteristic of the great mass of opinion in this country today, and that it is the surest augury of success in striving for the goal we all desire to reach.

Your addresses this morning have touched on wider things than your own rural or urban problems, and I need not say more, in reply to the hopes expressed by the District Board, than that I am sure the Local Government will do everything in their power to assist the Board in carrying out any definite proposals which it may make for the amelioration of the lot of the people of the District. For on the efficiency of local administration, whether by Municipalities or District Boards, depends to no small degree the repute in which the government of a country is held. Your schools, your hospitals, your roads, your sanitation, your marketing arrangements, all mean something definite every day to nearly every member of the community under your charge, and in shouldering your responsibilities in such matters you are doing work of far more than parochial importance, for you are not only helping the great machine of government to run smoothly, but you are bringing to many sides of human life the means of fuller growth and self expression. May you have all success, gentlemen, in the discharge of your important duties, and may the people of Calicut and Malabar be long attended by all good fortune and happiness.

STATE BANQUET AT COCHIN.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the State Banquet at Cochin on the 1st December :—

1st Decem-
ber 1920.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like at the outset to echo the remarks made by Your Highness in regard to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The deep-seated loyalty of the Indian States to the Throne was never more clearly shown than during His Majesty's late illness, and his recovery was the occasion of great thankfulness throughout India and the British Empire.

As Your Highness has just said, this is only the second time in history that a Viceroy has visited Cochin. I cannot but think that this is not the fault of Viceroys but of circumstances. In this world we often find the pleasantest things the most difficult of access, and Cochin lies perhaps somewhat aside from the path which Viceroys ordinarily tread. I therefore think myself all the more fortunate that I should have been able to accept Your Highness' kind invitation to visit this beautiful part of India and I thank you cordially for the warm welcome you have given us. There is the added attraction that I am visiting a coast where memories of the past are so full of interest. I can well imagine the feelings of eagerness with which the early European adventurers must have looked on this rich and fertile coast, and the delight with which the fortunate Portuguese settlers must have hailed the permission granted in 1502 to settle in the town of Cochin, to be followed a year later by the building of a fort and the opening of trade with the country round. It was not until three centuries later when the Portuguese, and in their turn the Dutch, had long since disappeared from the scene, that the Raja of Cochin concluded a treaty with the East India Company, to which he thus became a tributary. Since then, as Your Highness has said, the history of the State has been one of increasing prosperity, and I earnestly trust that this happy state of things may long continue. It is also my hope that, as material prosperity

State Banquet at Cochin.

advances, development of administration may not be permitted to lag behind. Good Government spells happiness for the people and prosperity both for ruler and for ruled, and I trust that Your Highness' first thought as that of all wise rulers will be constantly to preserve the standard of your administration. When Lord Curzon visited Cochin just 29 years ago he paid a tribute to the tranquillity which the State had so long enjoyed and to the good management to which that tranquillity was due. Since then there have been changes of no small significance. The formation of a Legislative Council with an elected majority and the institution of elected panchayat courts and municipalities show an important constitutional advance. The progress in education too has been maintained, and I congratulate Your Highness on the interest you have shown in this essential part of your responsibilities as a ruler. I know that the rulers of Cochin have deep and strong traditions of conservatism and orthodoxy ; it is all the more remarkable that Your Highness should have allowed one of the members of your own family to cross the seas in search of western education.

In material ways too, as Your Highness has indicated, the State has seen notable improvement, and recently great benefit has been conferred upon this town by the action of the Durbar in laying out pipes from the Alwaye River and providing the people with a supply of wholesome water.

The greatest change however which this State is now witnessing is in the construction of the Cochin Harbour works. It is a matter for great satisfaction that such good progress has been made with the scheme for the conversion of the harbour into a port of real magnitude, and I trust that within the next few years the trade of Cochin will show considerable development, to the benefit not only of the port itself but to the whole of Your Highness' State. I would only add that, if full advantage is to accrue from the heavy capital expenditure which is being incurred on

State Banquet at Trivandrum.

the extension of the harbour, adequate railway communications must be provided by which the produce of the rich country within its reach may be brought to the port, and imported goods may in their turn find a ready means of distribution.

I would desire in conclusion, as representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, to acknowledge the assurance of continued devotion to the Throne and to the Paramount Power to which Your Highness has just given expression. It has been a great pleasure to me to visit the State of Cochin and to make the acquaintance of its ruler and its people. I trust that the efforts of Your Highness and Your Highness' successors will continue to be directed, as they have been in the past, towards the happiness of your people and the prosperity of your State.

STATE BANQUET AT TRIVANDRUM.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the State Banquet at Trivandrum on the 7th December :—

7th December 1929.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The kind terms in which Your Highness has just proposed the health of Lady Irwin and myself are of a piece with the great kindness and cordiality with which we have been welcomed by so many thousands of Your Highness' people at every stage of our journeying since we set foot in Travancore. We have long been awaiting with pleasurable anticipation our visit to South India and before we leave Your Highness' State we shall have achieved our "Furthest South", and stood upon the sacred spot which is the Land's End of this great country.

Few parts of India can, I think, be more favoured by Nature than Travancore, and we have long wished to see those beauties of sea and land of which we have often heard, and have tried to picture to ourselves its wooded hills, its evergreen valleys, its rivers and lagoons, which all go to make up what I think may be called the Spice-garden.

State Banquet at Trivandrum.

of India. We have also pictured to ourselves a people happy and contented in their Arcadian surroundings, free from the fears of famine or want and from the ills which poverty so often brings in its train. I have read that the security of life and property in Travancore is proverbial and "is such that people generally prefer to travel by night". We came therefore with high expectations and I can truly say that they have been realised. We share to the full Your Highness' pleasure that our visit should have come at a time of unexampled prosperity in the State, and I know well that, after all due credit is given to the bounties of Nature, the basis of that prosperity lies largely in the wise and liberal administration directed by Your Highness and by those who have ruled Travancore in the past.

I am glad to have this public opportunity of thanking Your Highness for having invited us to visit your beautiful State, and for all the hospitality and kindness you have shown us while we have been here. It is one of my privileges as representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor to visit the Princes of India in their own domains, and to receive the most generous hospitality at their hands. It is my privilege too to receive unfailing expressions of loyalty to the British Crown, such as Your Highness has offered to-night on behalf of Travancore. Such assurances are indeed scarcely necessary from a State whose traditions of friendship with the English reach back to those stirring and unsettled times of the 18th Century, when the representatives of the great Chera dynasty of South India were allies of the English arms. It is not far short of a century and a half since Travancore was included in the Treaty made between the East India Company and the Sultan of Mysore, and those friendly relations have with brief intermissions lasted until to-day.

As Your Highness has pointed out it is just a generation since Lord Curzon, the greatest traveller, I think,

State Banquet at Trivandrum.

among Viceroy's, visited your State, and as is natural many notable administrative and other changes and progressive measures have taken place since then. Your Legislative Council, which originated in 1888, has been enlarged and reconstituted with an elected majority, and is based upon the equality of the sexes in rights of franchise and election. The Revenue side of the administration, by its separation from the Devaswom department, has been thrown open to Hindus of every caste, and to Christians as well. Animal sacrifice has been abolished in temples. Roads and bridges, water-works, electric light and power, have all received increasing attention. And I think I may safely say that during Your Highness' five years of regency the highest proportion of advancement has been seen. Your unflagging devotion to State affairs, your personal attention to every detail of the administration, and your constant desire to treat all communities in the State alike with fairness and impartiality, have borne the richest fruit in the contentment of your people. I understand that recent years have seen a steady advance made by women in education and in participation in public affairs; I can well believe that this is in no small measure due to the example set by Your Highness, and I cannot deny myself the pleasure of congratulating Your Highness once again on receiving the coveted distinction of the Crown of India, by which His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to mark his appreciation of your regency.

Your Highness, there have been other changes since Lord Curzon visited Travancore 29 years ago. Speaking on an occasion similar to to-night's, he congratulated His late Highness on the steps he had recently taken by renewed adoption for the perpetuation of the ruling line, and it is gratifying to know that Travancore State has through that adoption a Prince ready to succeed to the ancient and honourable traditions of the ruling House. It has been a great satisfaction to hear the good reports of His Highness' L&P3V

Opening of the Cauvery Metur Canal Bridge.

progress, of his proficiency in riding and his advance in education. I cannot foretell when a Viceroy will next set foot in your State, but it is not improbable that by that time, under Providence, His Highness will be upon the *gaddi*. I wish therefore in conclusion to express to Your Highness, in the first place, my hope and belief that your regency will conclude as happily as it has begun, and to offer to His Highness the best of all good fortune when the mantle has fallen upon his shoulders. I feel confident that I shall hear of him in future years as a Prince whose State is his first thought, and who finds his own principal happiness and reward in devoting himself to the advancement of his people.

OPENING OF THE CAUVERY METUR CANAL BRIDGE.

11th Decem-
ber 1922.

In opening the Cauvery Metur Canal Bridge at Tanjore on the 11th December H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very glad to be able to open this bridge to-day and I must thank Mr. Ramaswami Ayyar and those on behalf of whom he has spoken for having so kindly invited me to do so. Although this bridge is only, in itself, a small detail in a larger scheme, that scheme is one which is destined, I hope, to bring increased prosperity to a very large area and to be one more example of the skill of the Engineer in bringing the gifts of Nature to tracts which she has chosen to endow less generously than others. In giving my name, therefore, to this bridge—which I most gladly do—I have the pleasure of feeling that I shall be associated not only with this bridge but to a certain extent with the wider scheme to which I have alluded.

If I may be allowed to digress for a moment from the immediate purpose of this gathering, I should like to take this opportunity to give public expression to my gratitude for the warmth of the welcome which I have received at the

Address from the Corporation of Madras.

various towns I have visited since I left Calicut. I wish that I could have thanked everyone individually, but that, I fear, was not possible. I have now been able to fulfil a long-cherished desire—to traverse both the western and the eastern coasts of this Presidency—and I have not been disappointed in the high anticipations which I had formed. Not the least attractive part of this programme is to see Tanjore. I have heard much of its fame as the capital of one of the greatest of the ancient dynasties, as one of the chief political, literary and religious centres of the South, as the home of beautiful Hindu monuments and as a centre of artistic manufactures. I am looking forward to seeing as much as I can of its sights and interests in the all too short time before me here.

I am afraid that I shall have left India before the water begins to flow under this bridge. But canals fortunately are more permanent than Viceroys. May the canals of this Metur project vie with Tennyson's Brook which boasted that :

“ Men may come and men may go,

But I go on for ever ”,

and may they continue to minister to the needs of the thirsty soil through many generations when we are all forgotten. I shall always remember the Metur project, and, in hearing, as I hope, of its success, shall be proud that my name has, by this evening's ceremony, been in some way associated with it. And now, if I may, I will proceed to open this bridge, and formally inaugurate its career of public benefit.

ADDRESS FROM THE CORPORATION OF MADRAS:

In reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Corporation of Madras on the 12th December, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Our tour through the Madras Presidency, which has given us the opportunity of

Address from the Corporation of Madras.

seeing many of its important towns and much of its people and its picturesque scenery, has now reached its pleasant culmination in our arrival at the capital of the Province and in the reception which has been accorded to us here this morning. Lady Irwin and I deeply appreciate the evidences of friendship and goodwill which we have seen on every side, and we thank you warmly, and through you the people of Madras, for the way in which you have made us welcome. The history of Madras, both past and present, and the position its people have achieved in many walks of public life, in literature and the arts and sciences, have made us keenly anxious to see for ourselves something of the country and the conditions in which these varied activities have had their rise. I can also myself claim an especial personal interest in this city because here lies buried an immediate ancestor of my own, who was killed in a naval engagement with the French Admiral Suffren in the wars of the 18th century. We know therefore that in the all too brief time that we shall spend in Madras we shall see much that we have long wished to see, and make and renew many valued acquaintances.

In the concise account which you have just given of your responsibilities and problems as a Corporation, you have mentioned the possibility of raising funds by the imposition of a terminal tax. I appreciate your desire to reduce the direct burden of taxation on the residents of your city, but, after examining again the reasons which influenced the Government of India to decide against a similar proposal made by your body 13 years ago, I fear that I cannot find any new factors in the situation which could lead me to hold out any hope of further reconsideration of their previous decision. It is true that the Taxation Enquiry Committee expressed the view that a light terminal tax on passengers might be appropriate in the case of large cities, and that in Calcutta and Rangoon the levy of such a tax has been allowed. But the very special reasons which

Address from the Corporation of Madras.

were held to apply to these two cities do not appear to the Government of India to be equally applicable to Madras, nor to counterbalance the disadvantages we see in the general principle of a terminal tax. The chief objections which we feel to such a tax are that the collection of such a levy is not a legitimate function of the railway companies and that the terminal tax tends to operate as a tax on railways by reducing either their traffic or the fares they can charge. Our contracts with companies do not empower the Government of India to force them to render this kind of service to municipalities, and we feel that such a tax is normally justified only for towns which are centres of pilgrimage and have to spend a considerable amount of money on sanitation and other purposes for the benefit of strangers who, but for a railway tax, would contribute nothing to the cost. I regret therefore that, as at present advised, the Government of India feel unable to acquiesce in the proposal you have made.

I can assure you however of the constant interest which Government takes in the affairs of your Corporation, as in those of all local bodies, and I am confident that your needs and difficulties will always receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of your Local Government, and of your Governor, Sir George Stanley, who is now at the outset of what I know will be a successful and distinguished term of office.

You have rightly, Sir, made reference to the pride which your Corporation takes in the discharge of its onerous duties. They are duties inherited, as you say, from a distant past and you probably remember the old-fashioned phrasing of the Charter granted to the original Corporation of nearly two and a half centuries ago. "Having found", it ran, "by experience that the making and establishing of Corporations in cities and towns that are grown exceeding populous tends more to the well-governing of such populous places than the constant use of the

*Addresses from the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the
Southern India Chamber of Commerce.*

Law Martial in trivial concerns, we constitute the town of Fort St. George a corporation". Those were small beginnings, but to the English this fortress, named after their patron Saint, was during the next century to become a place of growing importance, and it was indeed in these surroundings that the die was to be finally cast as to which of the European nations was at that time to exercise predominant influence in India. Since then Madras has grown apace, and your concerns are now the reverse of trivial. They are on the contrary of vital importance to many thousands of people whose health and amenities of life are committed to your charge. I am always glad to have the opportunity of expressing Government's appreciation of the public spirit which induces busy people like yourselves to add such responsibilities as these to the burden of their other duties, and it has therefore given me great pleasure to meet you on my arrival in Madras this morning. I offer you my best wishes, gentlemen, in the important task in which you are engaged, and trust that this great city may, under your guidance, continue to enjoy the proud position it now holds.

**ADDRESSES FROM THE MADRAS CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE AND THE SOUTHERN INDIA
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.**

12th Decem-
ber 1929.

H. E. the Viceroy received addresses from the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce at Madras on the 12th December, to which he made the following reply :—

Gentlemen,—My first duty and privilege is to thank you, as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, for your expressions of joy and relief at His Majesty's recovery—sentiments which, as the experience of the last year has so vividly brought home to me, and, I am sure, to you also, are universal throughout India.

Addresses from the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

I am very grateful to you for the warm welcome which you have extended to Lady Irwin and myself on our first visit to this great city with which is bound up so much of the earliest history of the connection between Great Britain and India. If a Viceroy could order his travels according only to the dictates of his own predilections, we should not be coming here at comparatively so late a stage in my term of office. But unfortunately personal desires have to be subordinated to other considerations. My pleasure at being here is, however, the more keen for having been deferred, and it is by no means the least of my pleasures in Madras to be able to meet here to-day the representatives of the Mercantile interests in this Presidency. I always welcome the opportunity of meeting businessmen—particularly in their own surroundings—and of hearing from them their views on public affairs. One of the secrets of success in business is, as I understand it, the ability to take a correct decision quickly, and for this purpose an essential requisite, in addition to the necessary technical knowledge of the business concerned, is a very large measure of that most uncommon quality of commonsense. This quality is no less important in administration than in business, and its possessors in the business world have therefore a very strong title to a deferential hearing of their views, not only on matters immediately within their province but also in the wider sphere of every-day affairs, by those who are charged with the administration.

Both the bodies which have presented addresses to-day have exemplified the interest which they take in this wider sphere by their references to the problems of agriculture, and have been good enough to express their appreciation of the action taken by my Government in connection therewith. The economic progress of India is of necessity closely bound up with the prosperity of the cultivator, and it is my earnest hope that a greater measure of prosperity may accrue to him as a result of the measures which are

Addresses from the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

now being taken on the basis of the valuable report of the Agricultural Commission. As you no doubt know, the Council of Agricultural Research has lately been inaugurated by the Government of India, while in this Presidency a committee of officials and non-officials has been set up and is now considering the Commission's recommendations. The Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee is also at work and will go into the several questions relating to the financing of the agriculturist. I can assure you that the Government of India will leave no stone unturned in the effort to bring to fruition the labours of the Agricultural Commission and I am sure that the same can confidently be said of the Government of this Presidency.

As regards road development and the improvement of rural communications to which the addresses have referred, this whole question is now being investigated in pursuance of the Road Development Committee's Report, and I hope that the conclusions when reached and translated into practice will be of benefit to the people of this Presidency.

Mention has been made in the address of the Madras Chamber of Commerce of the needs of the Madras Port. I have been pleased to observe the expansion of trade shown by the Port, and I am very glad that it was possible for my Government to supply its immediate needs by placing additional land at its disposal earlier in the year. I fully recognise that the provision of adequate facilities to meet the needs of expanding trade is essential, and I need hardly add that applications for land for further schemes of development will receive the careful consideration of the Government of India. The last three years have seen a small but steady expansion of trade throughout India and I am glad to know that Madras has taken her share in it. I see that the imports of the Presidency increased from 21 crores in 1926-27 to 24 crores in 1927-28 and 27 crores in 1928-29, and that exports increased during the same three years

Addresses from the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

from 38 crores to 44 and 46 crores. The expansion in shipping too has been even more marked. The Great War caused the total entries and clearances of vessels into and from the ports of the Madras Presidency to drop from approximately five million to less than three million tons, but the leeway has now been made up and I see that last year the figures exceeded five million.

And now I must turn to the question of the Tanning trade which has found a place in both addresses. The Hide Cess Committee, which has recently been appointed, was instituted after full consultation with all the interests concerned. It contains two representatives of the Tanning industry in Madras—a representative of the Madras Tanners and a representative of the Madras Tanned Hides Shippers. This in itself is a guarantee that the interests of the Tanning trade in this Presidency will not be disregarded, and, while it is of course impossible for me to predict the course that will ultimately be adopted, I would add that these interests may certainly count upon very careful consideration at the hands of the Government of India when they come to deal with the Committee's Report.

I fear, Gentlemen, that, were I to go in detail into all the problems which have been mentioned in the address of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, I might be led to trespass too far on the limits of your patience. Perhaps, however, I may be allowed to touch very briefly upon some of them. You have referred to the adjudication of claims between Foreign and Indian Shipping companies. In my address to the Associated Chamber of Commerce last year, I dealt with this question at some length and I tried there to present the problem as I see it, not as one which should be solved by methods of confiscation but as one which might be solved by an alliance of British and Indian industry and commerce, working together for

*Addresses from the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the
Southern India Chamber of Commerce.*

India's commercial and industrial advancement, and for the realisation of the ambition that India should have its own mercantile marine, officered as well as manned by Indians. I would also refer you to the statement on the subject made in the Legislative Assembly last September by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce, and it is my earnest hope that the conference, foreshadowed in that statement and now about to be held between representatives of all the interests affected, may lead to a satisfactory solution of this question. I trust that I may rely upon all those who are present here to-day to work together for that end.

The position as regards sterling capital and rupee capital was exhaustively dealt with by the Hon'ble Finance Member in his speech introducing the budget for the current year. It would appear that misapprehension on the subject still exists, and I cannot, I think, do better than ask those, who may still harbour doubts on the subject, to re-read this very lucid exposition of the policy of my Government, which is, briefly, to have recourse to sterling borrowing only in so far as money required cannot be raised from the investing public in India. Here too I would ask your help in educating the smaller men to invest rather than to hoard their savings.

You have further pressed upon me the necessity of adjudicating the claims between European and Indian commercial bodies for equal representation on public bodies. I fear, however, that this is a matter which my jurisdiction does not embrace. Proposals for the revision of the constitution will shortly come before His Majesty's Government and, at this stage, I can do no more than assure you that whatever claims or suggestions may have been put forward in this behalf will be carefully examined.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I must thank you once again for your good wishes to Lady Irwin and myself and

Address from the United Planters' Association of Southern India.

for the kind things which you have said. We shall carry away with us from Madras the warmest memories of your cordial welcome and I shall not fail to bear in mind the views and needs which have been expressed in the two addresses to which I have had the pleasure of listening to-day.

ADDRESS FROM THE UNITED PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

The United Planters' Association of Southern India presented an Address of Welcome at Madras on the 12th December to H. E. the Viceroy, who replied in the following terms :—

12th December 1929.

Gentlemen,—My first duty is to express the satisfaction which it gives me to be able to meet you here to-day and to thank you for the warm welcome which you have extended to me. With you, and with all the people of India, I rejoice at the restoration to health of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and, as his representative, it is my privilege to acknowledge the loyal sentiments to which you have given expression.

My pleasure at being among you is enhanced by the fact that to me, a land-owner like yourselves, the problems of the land are of especial interest, for, though the present-day difficulties of a British land-owner no doubt differ in form from those of a Southern India planter, I suspect that there is a strong fundamental similarity between them. I am glad to learn that your Association is studying so closely the report of the Agricultural Commission. As you are no doubt aware, its recommendations have already borne fruit in the establishment of the Council of Agricultural Research which will, I sincerely hope, be a powerful factor in the progress of Indian agriculture. Many of the recommendations of the Commission are of course more directly the concern of the Local Governments and are, I know, occupying their attention, but improve-

Address from the United Planters' Association of Southern India.

ments and reforms in the agricultural system of this country, whether stimulated by the Central or by a Local Government, can only attain a full measure of success if they have the support of those who are actively engaged in the working of the land. I welcome therefore the assurance of co-operation in this direction by so representative a body as your Association and also the anxiety, which your remarks evince, for the welfare and prosperity of the cultivators.

I am also very pleased to know of the keen interest taken in the Royal Commission on Labour which will later be visiting Southern India—judged both by your remarks in this connection and by the large numbers among the planting community, both employers and employed, who, I have noticed, have offered to furnish evidence. The Government of India count themselves very fortunate to have secured the services of so representative a Commission, and its Chairman comes to the task with practical experience of achievement in the Labour field. The scope of their enquiries is a wide one and it is my earnest hope that their result will conduce to that fuller measure of progress and contentment which we all desire.

You have stressed in your address the importance of good communications, and I can assure you that my Government are fully alive to the need for adequate railway approaches to the Cochin Harbour, in order that the produce of the country may be brought there and that imported goods may be distributed easily and quickly. With this object the Local Government have recommended the conversion of the Shoranur-Ernakulam line from metre gauge to broad gauge, and the matter is now under the consideration of the Railway Board. In this connection I may mention that the Railway Board have also sanctioned the traffic survey of a line from Kollengode to Trichur. A

Addresses presented by the Madras Presidency Muslim Leagues of 1908 and 1926 and the Anjuman-e-Mufid-e-Ahl-e-Islam and the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

special report has been made by the Cochin Port Conservancy Board about railway facilities to be afforded as a result of the development of the Cochin Harbour, and the Local Government are, I understand, about to give their consideration to the various proposals made therein. As regards roads, I can say no more at present than that the whole question is being thoroughly investigated in pursuance of the Road Development Committee's report, and I am sure that action will be taken as expeditiously as possible on the conclusions when reached.

I will not detain you longer except to thank you once again for your cordial welcome and also for your assurance of co-operation with Government, on which I know I can confidently rely, in the difficult tasks which lie before them.

ADDRESSES PRESENTED BY THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY MUSLIM LEAGUES OF 1908 AND 1926 AND THE ANJUMAN-E-MUFID-E-AHL-E-ISLAM AND THE MUHAMMADAN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA, MADRAS.

H. E. the Viceroy replied in the following terms to the 12th December 1920
above Addresses of Welcome presented to him at Madras on the 12th December :—

Gentlemen,—Madras with its customary hospitality has been more than generous to Lady Irwin and myself in the number of addresses with which it has welcomed us this morning. We appreciate them very deeply, and none more than those offered to us by the Muslims of Madras Presidency. But I have had perforce to be as brief as possible in return, and this must be my excuse which I know you will accept for answering your three interesting addresses in one reply.

Addresses presented by the Madras Presidency Muslim League of 1908 and 1926 and the Anjuman-e-Mufid-e-Ahl-e-Islam and the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

In thanking you warmly for your welcome, it is in the first place my privilege to acknowledge the expression of your unfailing loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, whose thoughts constantly go out to the people of India of every race and creed, and to whose heart no wish lies more near than that the humblest of his subjects may enjoy in growing measure the blessings of health and happiness.

The question which, as it appears from your addresses, is most seriously exercising the minds of Madras Muslims, as perhaps of Muslims throughout India, is the position of your community under whatever new form of constitution may be expected, after the present revision has been concluded. May I pause here for a moment to thank those of you who gave such a warm welcome to Sir John Simon and his colleagues when they visited Madras and helped them so materially in the prosecution of their all-important task. Anxiety, as I was saying, has been widely expressed as to the safeguarding of Muslim rights, as to the continuance of communal electorates, and the claim of Muhammadans that they should have at least a proportionate voice in such matters as popular representation and Government service. At a time when all such questions are engaging the anxious thought of the Statutory Commission, whose report will shortly be made known, you will not, I feel sure, expect me to hazard any forecast of the future. But I will certainly convey—as you have asked me to do—the purport of your wishes to His Majesty's Government, and you are no doubt aware that the Madras Government have recommended the continuance of separate electorates for Muslims in their memorandum to the Statutory Commission. There is however one thing that I will say, and it is this. Whatever the future may

Addresses presented by the Madras Presidency Muslim Leagues of 1908 and 1926 and the Anjuman-e-Mufid-e-Ahl-e-Islam and the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

hold in store for India, it must—so far as we can achieve it—be a future in which the just rights and liberties of all communities and all creeds shall be fairly and equitably upheld. And, as rights connote duties, the corollary of this must always be that rights secured to any community should be the means not merely of benefiting that community but of enabling them to take their allotted part in the wider citizenship of India, and make their due contribution to the common political life of the whole country.

On the question of the employment of Muslims in the public services, the general policy of Government is well known. The aim is to correct any unreasonable preponderance of particular communities in the services by taking special steps to admit duly qualified members of other communities. The Local Government have, I understand, given the fullest effect to this principle.

There is the particular question referred to in one of your addresses regarding the absence of any Muslim in the High Court of Madras. I am aware of the reply given in 1926 by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as Member of Council to the effect that Government would try to recruit a suitable Muslim if possible to the Bench. I am also aware of the serious disappointment of Muslims that no Muslim has been appointed in any subsequent officiating vacancy. But, while I am constrained to make it plain that appointments of High Court Judges are not and cannot be based on racial or communal considerations, I would repeat and confirm what the Local Government have previously said that the claims of Muslims for such posts, so far from being ignored, are most carefully and scrupulously considered on every occasion.

The ultimate solution of such difficulties as you have mentioned lies, as you yourselves recognise, in Muslims

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Addresses presented by the Madras Presidency Muslim Leagues of 1908 and 1926 and the Anjuman-e-Mufid-e-Ahl-e-Islam and the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

making good their claim, by education and otherwise, to an adequate share in the public services on the ground of merit alone. I am very glad therefore to have the opportunity this morning of meeting the representatives of two educational bodies which have done so much to improve the position of Muslims in the Presidency, both by technical training and higher education. I listened with pleasure to the tribute paid to the help given by Government and by individual Government officials in furthering these laudable objects.

If it is true that Muslims started late in the race for education, there is all the more value in societies such as yours in assisting to make up the leeway. And I trust that in doing so you will always keep the true function of education in your minds, viewing it not as a mere alleyway to a University degree and thence to Government service, but as an ever widening vista which, as it expands, becomes part of a man's whole life, and shows him the way in which he can best develop his natural gifts for the benefit of himself and his community and mankind. I am very glad to see from your address that you realise the important part which religion ought to play in the education of your children. The dangers which arise from the divorce of education from religion are patent in many parts of the world to-day. To exclude religion from the training of the youthful mind is as foolish and dangerous a proceeding as to build a pretentious house with no secure foundations. No doubt the question of what is the most appropriate means for fitting this religious teaching into your general educational system is one to which the answer depends upon varying circumstances, but, in the assertion of the general principle of the necessity of religious teaching, I wholly and warm-heartedly associate myself with what you have said.

Addresses presented by the Madras Presidency Muslim Leagues of 1908 and 1926 and the Anjuman-e-Mufl-e-Ahl-e-Islam and the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

Finally, I wish to refer to the Moplah question which has been mentioned this morning. As you know, large numbers of Moplahs who were convicted under the ordinary law have already been set at liberty before the expiry of their sentence, and this principle of premature release is being steadily pursued. Of the State prisoners detained under special laws, those who have hitherto been confined in jail are now being released in batches and will be kept under surveillance outside Malabar. This system of surveillance the Government of India have decided, after very careful consideration, it is not at present possible to modify. The general question, however, of releasing convicts and prisoners has received and will continue to receive constant attention by the Local Government, and it was, as you know, a matter in which your late Governor, Lord Goschen, took a warm and practical interest. It is the Local Government's settled policy to set at liberty those not concerned in the gravest offences as soon as ever they consider that it is safe to do so in the interests of the peace and safety of Malabar.

As regards your request for the repeal of the Moplah Outrages Act, it is unfortunately the case that the district of Malabar has in the past been subjected to a number of dangerous outbreaks, the most recent and the most serious of which took place only some seven or eight years ago. It would not be reasonable in these circumstances for Government to deprive themselves of the powers which have hitherto been regarded as indispensable for the purpose of bringing such outbreaks under control.

The colonisation scheme in pursuance of which Moplah convicts have been sent to the Andamans was very carefully devised in the interests of the convicts themselves

Addresses presented by the Madras Presidency Muslim Leagues of 1928 and 1926 and the Anjuman-e-Mufid-e-Ahl-e-Islam and the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

and, as explained in a resolution issued by the Government of India in October 1926, cannot now be annulled. This scheme was deemed by my Government to be the most humane solution of the problem how to deal with those who, at a time of fanatical excitement, were led into committing serious crimes against the State by the inflammatory utterances of their leaders. My Government have gone as far as it is possible for them to go in the direction you suggest by putting the scheme upon a voluntary basis, and giving facilities both for the return to Indian jails of any Moplah who wishes to go back, and, in the case of those who prefer to remain, for the conveyance of their wives and near relatives to the settlement. I would emphasise that the Moplah convict settlers in the Andamans live in comparative freedom in conditions very similar to those obtaining in Malabar ; they are subject to a liberal system of remissions giving them a definite hope of release, and they enjoy security of tenure in their holdings of land. Since the report of the Jail Committee, to which you refer, all possible measures have been taken to improve the health of the islands ; health statistics show a remarkable and steady change for the better, and medical facilities are available within a few miles of every village. There is no truth whatsoever in the suggestion that these islands are unfit for human habitation. On the contrary the islands are beginning to attract free settlers from various parts of India.

I must conclude, Gentlemen, by thanking you again warmly for your cordial welcome and by offering you all my good wishes for the prosperity of the Muslims of Madras Presidency.

ADDRESS FROM THE CATHOLIC INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

In reply to the Address presented by the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India at Madras on the 12th December, 1929.
H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the cordial welcome which you have given to me to-day and, as representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, it is my privilege to acknowledge your expression of loyalty to the Crown and your assurance of steadfast co-operation with Government, to which I have listened with much gratification.

The history of the rise and spread of Christianity in Southern India dates back many centuries and is one of absorbing interest. I count myself fortunate to have been able now to see for myself during my tour so much evidence both of its past history and of the continued existence of its great traditions. Among the roll of Christian workers in Southern India, the names of St. Francis Xavier—of whom it has been said that “his torn cassock and rough cloth cap were symbols of a faith that looked for no earthly reward”—and of Robert de Nobili are perhaps the most famous in the annals of your Church. Neither they nor their work can ever be forgotten, and the missionary zeal which inspired them is one which continues in these days to find vigorous and generous expression. You have spoken of the services of the Christian communities in the field of education and social progress. I am glad to be able to echo your words in this respect and to add my personal testimony, based on what I have seen throughout India, to their selfless work in all good causes, and, above all, in the care and succour of the sick—a work particularly enjoined by the principles of Christianity. I have heard much of the noble and self-sacrificing labours of your own priests in South India, of their frugal lives and devotion to duty, and I should find it difficult to praise adequately

Address from the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India.

the inestimable work they have done and are doing for the people of this country.

You have referred in your Address to a subject which must be occupying all our minds, the nature of the reforms to be made in the constitution, and you have made particular mention of the question of the representation of Indian Christians in the Central and Local Legislatures. It is not, of course, within my sphere to determine the nature of these reforms, nor would it be proper for me at this stage to discuss the considerations and materials on which the decisions of those responsible will be based. I can, however, assure you that His Majesty's Government will, when the time comes for them to consider these matters, desire to give the most sympathetic attention to the needs of every community.

You have also mentioned, in this connection, that no Indian Roman Catholic has been nominated, since the system of nomination was introduced, to certain All-India Services or to commissioned rank in the Army. You will realise that, in making such nominations, the first consideration must be that of the efficiency of the services concerned, and I am confident that, in the interests of the country, you would not wish it otherwise. You may however feel satisfied that the case of every candidate for such nomination, whether from your or any other community, is, and will be, scrutinised with the greatest care, and I trust that before long you may succeed in securing the acceptance on their merits of candidates in whom you are interested. As regards appointments to the public service made by the Local Government, I am satisfied that the question of adequate representation of the various communities is a subject of their close and constant attention. With this object in view, they have laid down certain

Address from the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India.

principles under which one appointment in six in each service is allotted to Anglo-Indians and Christians (including Europeans), provided always that qualified men are available. I do not think that I can say any more on this subject except that it is my earnest wish, as much as yours, to see members of your community taking their full part in the public service of this Presidency and of India as a whole.

I am well aware of the importance of road and railway development, both as a means of stimulating trade and thereby adding to the prosperity of the people, and also in bringing the amenities of modern civilisation within reach of a larger proportion of the population. The whole question of roads is now being thoroughly investigated by the Local Government in pursuance of the report of the Road Development Committee and I am sure that they will take whatever measures in this direction are practicable, consistently with their duty as custodians of the public funds. Progress in railway development is being maintained. During the year 1928-29, 225 miles of new lines were opened, 60 miles have been opened during the current year and work is in progress for the opening of another 175 miles.

And now, Gentlemen, I must thank you once again for your warm welcome and for the loyal sentiments to which you have given expression. It has been a great pleasure to meet you here to-day and to learn from you personally the needs and wishes of your community. By our meeting you have brought these more clearly to my mind, and I shall henceforth follow with the greater interest and goodwill the work and the fortunes of those for whom you have to-day been spokesmen.

ADDRESSES FROM THE ARUNDHATIYA MAHA
SABHA, ADI DRAVIDA MAHAJANA CENTRAL
SABHA, MADRAS, AND THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL
DEPRESSED CLASSES FEDERATION.

12th Decem-
ber 1929.

H. E. the Viceroy replied as follows to the above addresses presented to him at Madras on the 12th December : —

Gentlemen,—I have been forced by pressure of time to adopt the expedient of thanking you for your five addresses in one reply, but I should like to offer you severally my warmest thanks, and those of Lady Irwin, for the kind way in which you have welcomed us to Madras.

I can assure you that ever since I came to India I have given constant thought to the problem of the Depressed Classes. I have followed with interest the various measures employed to improve their condition, such as the acquisition of land for houses, burial grounds and cultivation, the construction of wells, the organisation of co-operative societies, and the provision of educational facilities by scholarships and otherwise. The appointment of Mr. Rajah to the Indian Central Committee, which co-operated with the Statutory Commission, was evidence that Government were determined that your case should not go unrepresented. Much has been done both by Government and by Government officers, by leaders of public opinion like Mr. Gandhi, by social reformers and Christian missionaries, and I am sure that you appreciate the efforts that have been made on your behalf. But you realise no doubt that the age-long disabilities from which the depressed classes have been suffering cannot be removed in the twinkling of an eye. The process of their alleviation must of necessity be gradual, and in this process you yourselves have your part to play. The problem is one which neither Government nor individual social reformers unaided can wholly solve. It is only those who respect themselves that will obtain respect from others, and this battle a man must fight for himself. He must learn that habits of thrift will improve his standard of life, his general well-being and

Addresses from the Arundhatiya Maha Sabha, Adi Dravida Mahajana Central Sabha, Madras, and the Madras Provincial Depressed Classes Federation.

happiness, that cleanliness, both moral and physical, endows mind and body with vigour, that temperance will save him from many forms of degradation. The existence of such societies as I am now addressing leads me to hope that you realise how far the salvation of your community lies in your own hands. But above all things I would appeal for unity among the different classes which compose your community. Union is strength, and the assertion of your claims for equitable treatment must be seriously delayed if your ranks are weakened by dissension.

Although it is thus to a certain extent within your power to improve your own condition, there are difficult obstacles to surmount unless you can find a helping hand from those more fortunately placed than yourselves. Life is a stern school, and one in which it is not always possible to rise from class to class by one's own unaided efforts. I do not dwell in detail on the particular aspects in which you feel your disabilities, to which you have referred this morning. I appreciate of course their importance in your daily life, but they are part of a wider question, on which through you I may in fact address a wider audience, an audience which I hope and believe is ready to listen to your appeals and to hold out a hand to assist you in raising your status in society.

The very term "depressed classes" provokes the thinking mind to enquire on every ground of justice and humanity what the justification may be for such debasement. Is there, I wonder, a synonym in any other country for the term "depressed classes"? I doubt it. There are social inequalities everywhere, injustices which any one with a soul would wish to set right, contrasts between poverty and riches which it is difficult to justify. But where else in the world is a man by the accident of birth

Addresses from the Arundhatiya Maha Sabha, Adi Dravida Mahajana Central Sabha, Madras, and the Madras Provincial Depressed Classes Federation.

irrevocably denied the barest possibility of ever sharing with his fellow men so many of the things that make life worth living? Few men would think twice about stretching out a helping hand to rescue a drowning man, or would have it in their hearts to knock away the hand on the boat by which the unfortunate man was clinging to the hope of life. And yet I am forced to believe that there are many who are able unmoved to watch their fellow human beings caught in the quicksands of social ostracism, and yet feel themselves debarred by a religious and social philosophy from stirring a finger on their behalf. I am only repeating what many people have said before. You may remember some memorable words used by a great public man and a great speaker, the late Mr. Gokhale. "I think", he said, "all fair-minded persons will have to admit that it is absolutely monstrous that a class of human beings, with bodies similar to our own, with brains that can think and with hearts that can feel, should be perpetually condemned to a low life of utter wretchedness, servitude and mental and moral degradation, and that permanent barriers should be placed in their way, so that it should be impossible for them ever to overcome them and improve their lot".

But words too often fall upon deaf ears, and I make no excuse for adding my appeal to those which have gone before.

All the world knows the greatness of the Hindu religion, its power for good as a religious and a social force, its ideals of national and family life, its inspiration in art and literature, its vitality and absorbent powers. With its roots deep in the soil of antiquity it has produced a civilisation which has stood the test of time. In that civilisation, barriers of caste are a recognised feature and have, no doubt, served a useful purpose in the various stages of its progress. But the world never stands still,

Address from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India.

and, looking at the political, intellectual and economic forces by which it is to-day being moved, I cannot doubt that a tenet which aims at debarring millions of human beings from concourse with their fellows must in the end prove a grave weakness to Hindu society.

As I have already said I do not believe that it is by any sudden convulsion that reform in these matters will come. But, when in so many other ways I see signs of the stimulating of national consciousness in India, I cannot but believe that hand in hand with this will come a quickening of sympathy with the depressed classes and a desire to see them given their proper place in both the social and political life of their Motherland. Meanwhile I wish you well in your task of so organising and educating opinion both within and without your own classes, that in your own generation you may see steady advance made towards the ideal of equal opportunity being afforded to all the sons and daughters of India to do her service.

ADDRESS FROM THE ANGLO-INDIAN AND DOMICILED EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following reply to the address presented to him by the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India at Madras on the 12th December 1929.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Let me begin by thanking you very warmly for the welcome and good wishes you have just offered to Lady Irwin and myself and by expressing the pleasure I feel at meeting representatives of your community this morning. My visit to the Presidency would indeed have seemed to me incomplete had I lost the opportunity of hearing at first hand the views and problems of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Community of Southern India. For in this oldest of the Presidencies, where the British connection with

Address from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India.

India first established itself, it is natural that your community should play an important part. And, whether here or in other parts of India, the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Community is one with which I feel that all Englishmen must have a special sympathy. For my own part I can assure you that, since I have been in India, the desirability of finding a solution of the many difficulties which face your community to-day has never been far from my thoughts.

It is easy to appreciate the anxiety with which you, as a small and distinctive minority community, view the problems involved in the future government of the country. Indeed, among the complicated questions that confront those who are endeavouring to devise new forms of constitution, none is more difficult than the means of ensuring adequate protection to the various minorities. I believe that the Madras Government in their memorandum to the Statutory Commission have recommended that the existing separate representation for the Anglo-Indian Community in the local Legislative Council may be retained, and I have no doubt that this is one of the various important matters to which Sir John Simon and his colleagues have given their earnest consideration.

You have also your special difficulties in the effect which the tendencies of the present day may have as regards the continued employment of members of your community on the existing scale in the public services. I can only assure you that my Government have given their most careful attention to the special problems which have arisen in this connection ; for it has to be recognised that changing conditions in India and the increased competition of Indians for posts in the public service must constantly make the question of Anglo-Indian employment more acute. Though Government have no easy specific to offer to deal with this problem, they have adopted a policy intended to prevent any rapid displacement of Anglo-Indians from the branches,

State Banquet at Hyderabad.

of the public service in which they are at present employed in considerable numbers, and to give the community time to consider their position and adjust themselves to the conditions of the future.

Whatever the difficulties facing your community may be, your Association has, I am glad to observe, always had a clear idea of what is the best way of meeting them. I admire the wisdom of your founder in foreseeing that the advancement of your community would, as India developed, depend more and more on its own capacity to organise and assist itself. As you have said, your chief activity has lain in the field of education, and there is I think no better way in which you could have combined your efforts than in joining to provide some at least of your boys and girls with a sound school and college education.

I wish you every success in your endeavours, gentlemen, which I am sure are conceived with the single object of enabling those you represent to play a part in the constantly changing life of India worthy of their past and worthy of what it may be in their power to give. I understand that much of your effort is directed to building up a fund for the creation of scholarships, and, as it is always a pleasure to help, in however small a way, those who help themselves, I hope that you will allow me to subscribe a sum of Rs. 2,000 to your future endowment of that purpose. The sum is not a large one or commensurate with your needs, but it is an earnest of my warm solicitude for the future of your community and of my hope that they may continue to find opportunities for service to the great country which has become their home.

STATE BANQUET AT HYDERABAD.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the State Banquet at Hyderabad on the 16th December :—

16th Decem-
ber 1929.

Your Exalted Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am, as Your Exalted Highness has said, one of a long line

State Banquet at Hyderabad.

of Viceroys who have had the privilege of enjoying the hospitality of the Ruler of Hyderabad, and it must always be a memorable event in a Viceroy's life to have the opportunity of visiting this great Muslim State of Southern India. Lady Irwin and I feel the keenest pleasure in thus renewing our acquaintance with Your Exalted Highness in your own State, and we are most grateful to you for all the arrangements you and your officials have made for our comfort and entertainment.

On an occasion like this it is tempting to indulge in historical retrospect, and to glance down the vistas which lead us to the beginnings of Muslim rule in the Deccan at the close of the 15th century. A splendid record of achievement is enshrined in the annals of those early warriors, and of their successors who held and developed their conquests. The rule of Imperial Delhi soon gave place to the great Bhamani Kingdom, which a hundred years later was parcelled out into five smaller entities. Of these the best known were Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar kingdoms, which have expressed in rich architecture the spirit of their times. The stately mosques, mausoleums and public buildings at Golconda, Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur stand as testimony of a glorious past, and by Your Exalted Highness's efforts towards the conservation of these interesting relics you have evidently realized that a wise administrator utilizes what is good from the past and preserves it as an inspiration for the future.

A vision of striking figures moves across the stage of history until we come to the era of the great Emperor Aurangazeb and Asafjah, the founder of the present dynasty.

The kingdoms of the Deccan fade into a great Moghul Province which in its turn, as the Delhi Empire crumbled, became the inheritance of the dynasty of the first Nizam Asafjah. Soon after his death the British appeared on the scene, and alliances of mutual benefit followed between

State Banquet at Hyderabad.

them and Hyderabad. Few would, I suppose, deny that the friendship and support of the British Empire contributed materially to stabilising the Nizam's rule in the troublous times which followed the collapse of the Central Power at Delhi.

In the 19th century the outstanding period in the history of the State commences with the assumption of the reins of the administration by Sir Salar Jung, to whose wise guidance Hyderabad owes so much. The somewhat erratic methods of former days now gave place to firm and judicious rule, which must always be regarded as of the first importance, both in the interests of India generally and of the Hyderabad State itself. Your Exalted Highness, shortly after your succession, took upon your shoulders the task of governing alone and unaided, and some years later you decided to entrust the powers of the Minister to an Executive Council. From the language of the Firman by which Your Exalted Highness constituted this new administrative machine, it is clear that you intended that the Council should exercise the powers and authority formerly wielded by the Chief Minister, and that it should have adequate influence and a reasonably free hand to administer the country under Your Exalted Highness's control. At the outset these conditions were not completely realized. Three years ago, however, Your Exalted Highness decided to improve the composition of the Council and to place in its hands adequate authority to administer the State in accordance with the spirit of the Firman from which it derives its origin. Your Exalted Highness at the same time accepted the offer of the loan of the services of three British officers to assist in putting the administration on a sound basis, and, when the Council was reconstituted, Sir Kishen Prasad, an old and experienced administrator, was appointed its President. Your Exalted Highness has given the Council your support and I have much pleasure in congratulating you on the great improvements in the administration which have followed from the reforms you have

State Banquet at Hyderabad.

introduced. It is a source of gratification to my Government that the Council is developing both efficiency and prestige.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that the British Government regard the Council system of administration as fully justified by results, and appreciate the wisdom of Your Exalted Highness' step in resorting to it. They feel assured that Your Exalted Highness shares the view of the British Government that the Council must now be regarded as an organic element in the constitution of the Hyderabad State, and I need hardly say that its functions and the method of its composition are matters in which the British Government will always be closely interested. Your Exalted Highness in this may count on the full moral support of the Government of India, and they look forward with confidence to a great future for the Hyderabad State as a consequence of the measures which Your Exalted Highness has adopted. In all parts of the world experience has shown that the task of ruling with enlightenment vast countries and large and varied populations is greater than can be undertaken by any single person, however assiduous or benevolent he may be in the discharge of his responsibilities. The multifarious aspects of modern administration demand more than an unaided ruler can devote to it either in time or attention, and I have no doubt that Your Exalted Highness has experienced the benefit which the decision to share the task of Government with trusted advisers has brought to you. The Governor of a British Indian Province would be indeed a man entitled to sympathy if he were obliged to handle unaided the reins of the Government with which he is entrusted by His Majesty, and I need scarcely say that I myself would view with alarm and despondency any suggestion that I should be relieved of the valuable advice and assistance which the constitution of the Government of India places at my disposal. It has been a matter of constant gratification to me to watch the progress that has thus been made. for the

State Banquet at Hyderabad.

welfare of Your Exalted Highness and of your State and people are matters very near to my heart.

I listened with much pleasure this evening to the tribute which Your Exalted Highness paid to the friendly relations which have existed between yourself and Sir William Barton, whose solicitude for the welfare of Hyderabad State, throughout the period of his present high office, has been constant and sincere. I am glad too to know that Your Exalted Highness' Government appreciates the services of the British officers lent to the State. They are picked men of character and ability, and Your Exalted Highness may continue to rely upon their loyal co-operation with you in the maintenance of good administration. If and when others are needed, I can assure Your Exalted Highness that the Government of India will be ready to come to your assistance by lending you their services. I would wish also to express my appreciation of the devotion and loyalty to Your Exalted Highness which prompted that veteran statesman, Sir Kishen Prasad, to take up the onerous and responsible duties of President of the Council. His services have been of great value in carrying out the changes in the administrative machinery inaugurated in recent years by Your Exalted Highness.

Speaking as I am in the leading Mussalman State and the premier State of all India, I cannot refrain from a brief reference to the wider questions which have a bearing on the future position and welfare of the Indian States. The pronouncement which it was recently my duty, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to make indicated the advantages of bringing under one comprehensive review the whole problem of the relations of British India and the States, as a means towards the fulfilment of what His Majesty's Government consider to be the underlying purpose of British policy in India. I recognise the force of what Your Exalted Highness has said about the historical relations of the Indian States with the British Crown, and

State Banquet at Hyderabad.

there is no need for me to emphasise the vitally important part which the States must play in India's future. They are partners in an enterprise which admits of no internal jealousies or conflict, and in which all parties must be directed by a common desire to see India strong with the strength which only unity can give. There is much which British India and the States will have the opportunity of examining together when the proposed Conference meets in London. There is much too that each can do to equip themselves for the wider developments that still lie wrapped in the folds of the future. It is for the Princes on their part, as for British India on hers, to make certain that the structure they are each building is set on firm foundations. No Prince can, as I am sure Your Exalted Highness will agree, find any surer guarantee of this than in an insistence on a high standard of internal administration, and I trust that in this respect Hyderabad will under the guidance of wise rulers always set an example worthy of the position of honour that it occupies among Indian States.

Of the work of the various departments of Your Exalted Highness's administration, I need not say much in detail. Finance is in the able hands of Sir Akbar Hydari, to whom I have no doubt that Your Exalted Highness is greatly indebted for the strong financial position of your State. Education is progressing, and, if your Government should succeed in its declared policy of adapting rural education to the needs of an agricultural community, it would be of inestimable benefit to your people. It is a pleasure to know that the Osmania University is establishing itself on lasting foundations. It will be the task of mature statesmanship so to shape the policy of the University that it may have as strong an appeal to the Hindus as to the Muhammadan subjects of Your Exalted Highness. In railway matters your Government has adopted a progressive policy—the new links with the south

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Address of welcome from the Municipal Committee of New Delhi.

and the north are a definite step in advancement. Your Exalted Highness's Government too are to be congratulated on what has been already achieved in the development of irrigation and in the Nizam Sagar project, for the prosperity of the agriculturist is the surest foundation of the welfare of your State. Your Medical Department is, I am glad to hear, in process of reorganization, and I feel confident that the Judicial Department will in course of time be brought to that state of efficiency so indispensable as an adjunct of modern administration.

I have touched on only a few of the many aspects which go to make up the whole picture of the government of a great State like Hyderabad but I can assure Your Exalted Highness that I take the deepest interest in your administration, and shall always be prepared to do anything in my power to assist Your Exalted Highness to make that administration a real instrument for good to all your people.

Your Exalted Highness has started your people on the path of constitutional progress. It is my earnest hope and prayer that your Government may be held in high honour in the Deccan for justice, impartiality and good will, and that Your Exalted Highness' rule will add fresh lustre to the distinguished annals of your predecessors.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE OF NEW DELHI.

The following reply was made by H. E. the Viceroy to the address of Welcome presented to him by the Municipal Committee of New Delhi on his arrival at "The Viceroy's House" on the morning of the 23rd December:—

23rd December 1929.

It is with no ordinary feelings that Lady Irwin, and I, on our return from a long and arduous but deeply

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Address of welcome from the Municipal Committee of New Delhi.

interesting tour in Southern India, now stand on the threshold of the house that is to be the home of future Viceroys of India, and I conceive it to be of happy omen that we should enter it in your presence and with your welcome in our ears. For you are the arbiters of much that will affect our happiness and comfort during the remainder of our time in Delhi, as that of our successors, and it has given us genuine pleasure this morning to listen to the kind terms in which you have formally bidden us welcome to your charge. Though we have not been strangers to New Delhi these last three years, we have necessarily felt the isolation of living cut off from you, not indeed by many miles but by the four walls of a great city, and, though we cannot but feel a pang of regret on leaving the temporary abode which seventeen years ago housed His Majesty the King Emperor himself, and since then has been the residence of His Majesty's representative, it is nevertheless a real pleasure to us to feel that from today we can count ourselves as residents—and I may say rate-payers—of the Municipality of New Delhi. Much of the inspiration which has created this city sprang from His Majesty the King-Emperor, and nothing could have exceeded the deep and helpful interest taken by Their Majesties in everything that concerned the planning and growth of the New Capital, and of The Viceroy's House in particular. I shall look forward to the pleasure of conveying to them an account of this morning's ceremony which I know they will receive with genuine gratification.

As you have said, New Delhi was not built in a day, and the years which have watched its construction stand astride events which have made history and which are even now setting the stage for great changes in the future. The wheel of time has come round and placed the centre of Imperial rule once more in Delhi. The buildings which here surround us have seven generations of Delhi cities

Address of welcome from the Municipal Committee of New Delhi.

behind them, and I think I can pay no higher compliment to Sir Edwin Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker than to say that their work challenges comparison with the greatest of the memorials which the architects of ancient Empires have here bequeathed to us. It is indeed a worthy setting for the labours of those whose task it will be under Providence to achieve the full destiny of India among the Dominions of the Empire, and I trust that the qualities of unity of design and beauty, joined with vigour in execution, may ever be reflected in the work of those who labour here in the service of India.

I have watched with interest the growth of Municipal activities in New Delhi, and I appreciate the determination which you have voiced in your address this morning to leave nothing undone which will assist to make this city worthy of her Imperial position. It will be my hope that the proposals which are now before Government will result in giving your Committee the powers which will enable them to exercise the functions of a full-fledged Municipality. You may rest assured that, as a citizen of New Delhi, I shall follow with close interest and sympathy your efforts to control the development of an area which has become the visible embodiment of a great conception.

I believe that by some of its detractors New Delhi has been named "the desert city". Its worst enemy must now find some new epithet, for where he prophesied a desert he now finds a smiling garden. This transformation has at the same time brought with it the problem of health, inseparable from the provision of the ample supply of water required. I am glad to know that the health authorities have successfully grappled with this problem and I am confident that you will realise that the maintenance of the success achieved will be one of the

Laying of the Foundation-stone of the Central Hospital, Delhi.

most important duties of your body. It is a great satisfaction to Lady Irwin and to myself to know that sanction has been given to the provision of an up-to-date and efficient hospital, the foundation stone of which I hope shortly to lay. But perhaps the most valuable form of health insurance you can have lies in the wide spaces and amenities to be found within your limits, in the hockey and football grounds, tennis courts and polo grounds and last but not least the golf course which in spite of two bad monsoons is, I believe, second to none in Northern India. I congratulate you warmly on the thoroughness with which you have carried out this side of your work.

Gentlemen, an early December morning in Delhi is not the time to detain an open air audience, and I will now with your permission take leave of you, with renewed thanks from Lady Irwin and myself for the welcome you have given us, with our sincerest wishes for your success in the great task for which you are responsible, and with the earnest prayer and belief that under your guidance India will have a Capital that may be at once worthy of her and the envy of the world.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE
CENTRAL HOSPITAL, DELHI.

10th January 1930.

In laying the Foundation-stone of the Central Hospital, Delhi, on the 10th January His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The ceremony which I am now to have the privilege of performing is one which can surely claim the sympathy and goodwill of all who have the welfare of Delhi and its citizens at heart. Sir John Thompson has just made very clear to us the urgent necessity of a hospital of this kind, adequate in size and efficiency, and worthy of a great Imperial Capital. I have myself, ever since I came to Delhi, been

Laying of the Foundation-stone of the Central Hospital, Delhi. conscious of this need. During the last four years I have had opportunities of visiting the various parts of Delhi city, including its poorer quarters, and have seen something of the difficulties which face the municipal administration and of the efforts they have made to improve the conditions of life within their charge. Nothing I think has struck me more forcibly than the lack of good hospital arrangements, and it is a great satisfaction to me to know that during my period of office these are now to be provided. No one who has listened to Sir John Thompson's speech can doubt that those responsible for the present scheme are to be warmly congratulated on the thorough and up-to-date lines on which it has been conceived, and it is clear that, so far as human skill can provide it, everything possible will here be done to ensure comfort and alleviation to the sick and injured. Indeed, after hearing what he has said, I fear the danger is that once a patient has received treatment here he will always feel an irresistible desire to return.

We shall all agree that the site has been admirably chosen. There is always a difficulty in satisfactorily joining the new to the old without leaving a dividing line with elements of weakness or unsightliness. This applies to cities no less than to other things, and those who direct the affairs of the old and new cities of Delhi have a difficult task in merging the two together. A good start has already been made in beautifying what was until recently a somewhat unlovely no-man's land, by laying out lawns and playing grounds between the walls of the old city and Ferozeshah Kotla. It is of good omen for the harmonious working of the two bodies that a site should have been chosen in these surroundings for the hospital whose foundation stone I am about to lay, and which you have been good enough to call by my name. There are already other joint enterprises which have been undertaken in the interests of the two cities. We have the Water Works, the Power House and other public works,

Laying of the Foundation-stone of the Central Hospital, Delhi.

but this hospital is the first great general institution which will be housed in buildings of note. A dividing line may also be a line of union, and I am glad to think that here the line of union between the old and new cities will now, besides the beautification of the land, have a series of fine buildings, whose object will be the relief of the people of Delhi from the attacks of mankind's immemorial and relentless enemies—disease and suffering. It is an object which appeals to the sympathy and highest feelings of mankind, of whatever race or creed. You will remember that in French towns the central hospital is commonly given the name "Hôtel Dieu", God's Guest House, to signify the sacred character of the purpose to which it has been dedicated.

We need, as I have said, have no anxieties as to the quality of the buildings which are to be provided here. Nor need we fear for lack of medical and surgical skill, when we remember all that the medical services have already done for India. But there is a further consideration of which account must be taken if the hospital is fully to achieve its object. To an audience familiar with the attention paid to nursing in Western countries, it would perhaps seem hardly necessary to emphasise the essential part which proper nursing plays in hospital treatment. But I am not so confident that this necessity is generally recognised in India. Lady Irwin and I during the years we have spent in India have been privileged to visit a large number of hospitals in every part of the country, and our general impression has been that nursing facilities leave much to be desired, especially perhaps in the north. Even in this central hospital I understand that for each ward of 24 beds it is at present calculated that only one nurse will be available, whereas I believe hospitals in England have four nurses for day work and one nurse for night work in a ward of this size. The need is great for more nurses, both in hospitals and outside hospitals for private nursing and health work, but

Laying of the Foundation-stone of the Central Hospital, Delhi.
at present the supply is small. I make no apology therefore for laying emphasis on this subject. When the doctor or surgeon has done his work it is the nurse who is responsible for the constant care which must subsequently be given to the patient, and it is he or she alone who must be ready to do the hundred and one little things which make all the difference between the comfort and discomfort of the sick. At the same time she must be qualified to note and report on symptoms or on any change in the patient's condition. She is, or should be, the doctor's eyes and ears. For such duties an intelligent, educated, trustworthy and well-trained woman, with all a woman's instincts, is required, and for this reason nursing is regarded, and rightly regarded, as one of the most honourable professions in all countries.

I feel strongly that the development of the nursing profession is a matter to which social reformers might well turn their attention, and I would trust that the general public will always regard nurses as honoured sisters whom it is their duty to protect and reverence. The system of *purdah* is gradually disappearing, the education of women is spreading, and I look forward to the time when the rising generation of young educated women in India will come forward in their numbers and join this profession, than which there is none more noble, for the alleviation of the suffering and afflicted.

I am accordingly very glad to learn that you anticipate an increase in the nursing staff for this hospital as soon as the *personnel* is available, and that you have wisely left yourselves scope for increasing the accommodation for the staff as circumstances may require.

I will now, with your permission, lay the foundation stone of this building. I shall watch its progress with constant sympathy and interest, and I hope that before I leave India I may see it far on the road towards completion. Let us carry in our thoughts those who will minister and be ministered to within its walls, and wish continuing godspeed to all its enterprise,

ADDRESS FROM THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM
FEDERATION AT BOMBAY.

17th January 1930. In replying to the address presented by the All-India Muslim Federation at Bombay on the 17th January, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

GENTLEMEN,

The welcome which you have extended to me and through me to Lady Irwin this morning on behalf of the Muslim community has added considerably to the pleasure which I have felt in visiting Bombay and meeting so many of its representative citizens. I thank you warmly for all that you have said and for the condemnation to which you have given utterance of the attempt which was recently made upon my train near Delhi. It is needless to say that such actions will not alter one whit the policy which the Government has set before itself, and during the last three weeks ample proof has been provided of the detestation in which the country at large holds such insensate outrages.

It has given me great pleasure to listen to your appreciation of the announcement which it was my duty to make on October 31st. The object of the conference in England will be, as you recognise, to explore the means by which the widest measure of general assent from all parties and interests concerned may be secured for the proposals it will later be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament, and I cordially welcome the assurance you have given me that your community is determined to show further proof of its loyalty and wisdom by promising their whole-hearted support to the conference. It is natural at a time like this, when the whole future development of India is under consideration, that minority communities should examine with some anxiety the position they are likely to occupy under any revision of the present constitution. You will not expect me to pronounce any view at this stage on the particular safeguards of your position

Address from the All-India Muslim Federation at Bombay.

which you have in mind ; but, as you realise, the Round Table Conference will provide the opportunity for thorough discussion of all difficulties and apprehensions, and it will be the earnest hope of His Majesty's Government that as a result of those deliberations it may be possible to reach conclusions which will prove acceptable to the Muslim community as to all other communities and interests. For that purpose it is essential that the various interests should be represented at the Conference by those who are in a position to speak with authority on their behalf, and who will therefore be best fitted to adjust the claims of the several communities to the achievement of the wider purpose of Indian unity.

I would take this opportunity of thanking you for the assistance which your body and other Muslim Associations rendered to Sir John Simon and his colleagues by laying before them the views and aspirations of the great Muslim community in India. The resolution adopted by your Council in January 1928, condemning *hartals* and demonstrations against the Commission, gave a valuable lead to Muhammadans in India and was warmly appreciated by my Government.

You have mentioned the resentment which to my regret has been aroused in the Muslim community by the Marriage Restraint Act. You are rightly jealous of spiritual liberty and freedom in matters of religious faith and practice, and my Government are earnestly desirous that no legitimate cause of offence may arise to the conscience and religious scruples of any individual or community. On the other hand, I am confident that the Muslim community as a whole would not wish to stand aloof from a social reform which has for its object the promotion of the physical and moral well-being of the people, and I trust it may be possible that on a fuller consideration of the problem the doubts now felt by some of them may be resolved.

State Banquet at Baroda.

It is not, as you will realise, within my province to express any opinion on the situation in Palestine, but I can assure you that I have kept His Majesty's Government fully apprised at every stage of the sentiments of Indian Muslims on the situation in that country. His Majesty's Government have laid it down that they will do all in their power to secure that the interests, religious and material, of each section of the population in Palestine are duly respected, and you may rest convinced that His Majesty's Government are determined to hold the scales even in that country as elsewhere between the different communities and interests. I shall of course be glad to communicate to the Secretary of State the views which you have expressed this morning.

Your Federation is still in its infancy, but, after studying the objects it has set before itself and the list of office-bearers in whose hands its direction lies, I feel confident that it has a great and useful future before it. It is difficult to exaggerate the value of bodies such as yours which, apart from the service they can render to their own community, work for the removal of misunderstandings between Muslims and Government and for the maintenance of peace and order in India. Both of these are objects worthy of our supreme endeavour, and they find their best guarantee in a continuance of those cordial relations which have existed in the past between your community and the Government, and which I earnestly trust may last unbroken for many years to come.

STATE BANQUET AT BARODA.

21st January
1930.

The following speech was delivered by H. E. the Viceroy at the State Banquet at Baroda on the 21st January :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must begin by expressing the great pleasure which Lady Irwin and

State Banquet at Baroda.

I feel in visiting this important State of Western India, a visit to which we have long looked forward. We have now spent two days, full of interest, in Your Highness' State, and we are deeply grateful to Your Highness for all the hospitality you have shown us and the personal trouble you have taken to make our stay in Baroda so comfortable. We have to thank you too for the very kind way in which you have to-night bidden us welcome. The value of that welcome has been enhanced by the friendliness which during the last two days has been shown to us on all sides by Your Highness' people.

I echo all that Your Highness has said in condemnation of those methods of violence, of which we lately had an example in the attempt upon our train. Your Highness may remember that, by a curious coincidence, when Lord Minto visited your State in 1909, Your Highness on an occasion similar to the present expressed your detestation of an attack which had been made the day before upon Lord Minto's life. The reprobation evoked by the recent outrage has made it abundantly clear that every class and creed in India share Your Highness' horror of such attempts. The real tragedy is that there should be persons so misguided as to think that any cause can be advanced by such senseless deeds, which can never succeed in the object which their perpetrators have presumably in view, and only stain the fair name of India.

It is now close on 50 years since Your Highness was installed as ruler of this State and first entered on that career of wise and vigorous administration which has meant so much to the people of Baroda. Indeed, to anyone who reads the history of this State since the beginnings of Mahratta rule in the early years of the 18th century, the last half century seems like a new era of enlightenment. There is no department of Government which does not bear proof of Your Highness' interest in the administration,

State Banquet at Baroda.

whether it concerns the economic growth of the State, education, social legislation, or the development of local self-governing institutions. Railways have steadily increased, and your port at Okha has a promising future. The advance of education is seen in a system which embraces free and compulsory primary education, a large number of secondary schools, a first-grade college and a fully developed technical institute. I am particularly glad to know that a feature of Your Highness' educational policy is the provision of over 200 schools for the depressed classes. Yesterday afternoon I had the opportunity of paying a visit to the Central Library which I believe is one of the largest institutions of its kind in India. The scheme whereby it supports a system of travelling libraries and spreads a network of subsidiary libraries over the villages of the State is I understand peculiar to Baroda and must be a valuable asset to the educational system of the State. A pleasant feature too of that system is the progress made in female education, and I should like to pay a high tribute to the work which Her Highness the Maharani has done in these matters and the constant interest she has displayed in the welfare of the women of the State.

Your Highness has spoken to-night of the position of the Indian States in the future structure of the Indian polity. As regards the observance of Treaties, both in the letter and in the spirit, I would only repeat what I have said on previous occasions that it is the declared policy of His Majesty's Government to maintain intact the rights and privileges of the Princes. Your Highness has also spoken of the establishment of an independent Court of Arbitration. In this matter Your Highness shares the desire of most of the Princes for a free resort to arbitration in cases where they differ from the Government of India. This, as you know, is one of the subjects dealt with in the report of the Butler Committee, who attached great importance to the free adoption of the procedure laid down

State Banquet at Baroda.

by the Government of India in 1920 for employment in such cases. The Committee's report however is still under the examination of the Government of India and I can only say that the whole matter will receive the full consideration it deserves. Another point which Your Highness considered vital to the welfare of the States was the devising of some means whereby they can speak with equal voice on matters of common interest to themselves and the rest of British India. This also is a matter to which the Butler Committee paid particular attention, and, if the machinery contemplated by their report to provide for Committees in matters of common concern takes practical shape, there can I think be no doubt that any arrangement arrived at will provide that the views of the States should be given consideration commensurate with the important relations they bear to the affairs of India as a whole.

As Your Highness has said we stand on the threshold of an era fraught with possibilities of the greatest consequence to the future history of India. Those who have the moulding of her future can afford to neglect no single aspect of the field, and the importance of including the Indian States in the constitutional review, which is now taking place, was recognised and emphasised in the statement which it was my duty to make on my recent return from England. The response to that announcement has shown the strength of Indian opinion, whether in British India or in the States, which is determined to lend all its weight to the discovery of a fair and harmonious solution of the difficult problem which now confronts us. It is of good omen that on the main issues agreement should be so generally apparent, and my earnest hope is—as indeed it is the hope of all those who have India's true interests at heart—that the deliberations which will in due course

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

ensue will point the way towards the framing of a constitution which may bring to India contentment and prosperity within her own borders and secure for her the place she deserves among the great nations of the world.

ADDRESS AT THE DELHI SESSION OF THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

25th January 1930. His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly on the 25th January :—

GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY,—

I was unable, owing to my absence from Delhi, to greet you at the opening of your Session, but I desire now to offer you a cordial welcome to your labours and to express the hope that harmony and goodwill may attend your deliberations.

I regret that it was not possible for me to address both Houses of the Legislature this morning. That however would have involved either inconvenience to Hon'ble Members of the Council of State by summoning them to Delhi earlier than was justified by circumstances, or undue postponement of the opportunity of speaking in this place. I do not propose to make detailed reference to the programme of work that lies before you. Your attention this Session will be directed chiefly to the Budget, and the only preface I would wish to make to my more general observations is a brief allusion to matters that do not immediately concern the internal affairs of India.

Peace reigns on our borders. But for two of our neighbours the past year has been eventful. Nepal has suffered the loss of her distinguished Prime Minister, His Highness Sir Shumshere Jung, whose fame as a wise and progressive statesman had travelled far beyond the confines of his own country. India shares Nepal's sorrow in

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

her bereavement, but shares also her gratification that the reins of office have fallen into the hands of so sagacious and well-trying an administrator as Sir Bhim Shumshere Jung, to whom we wish all success in the high duties which he now finds himself called upon to discharge.

It is a great satisfaction to India that Afghanistan has found a happy issue out of her recent calamities in the accession of His Majesty King Muhammad Nadir Shah. His Majesty carries with him our warmest wishes and goodwill, and I have every confidence that under his wise guidance Afghanistan will speedily enter upon a new era of prosperity, and that the ties of friendship which unite our two neighbouring countries will be maintained with ever-increasing strength and mutual trust.

The question of the future Government of Eastern Africa is now being considered by His Majesty's Government, on whom my Government have impressed the keen interest evinced in this question by all communities in India, and the importance of having due regard in their treatment of this matter to legitimate Indian feeling. I am glad to acknowledge publicly the valuable help which the Government of India have received from the Indian Legislature in this connection, and to give the assurance that it will always be our endeavour to champion the just cause of Indians overseas by all constitutional means open to us and in harmony with enlightened Indian opinion.

I much regret that sudden and serious illness has compelled Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi, our Agent in South Africa, to return to India. During the time he has held his post, Sir Kurma has amply justified his selection to this important office, and the House will, I am sure, join me in hoping that a speedy recovery may enable him before long to resume his work.

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

I must now deal with some features of the political situation, which has lately been engaging public attention.

On my return to this country from England, it was my duty to make a statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That statement stands as I made it and indeed in the light of the appreciation which I had formed of the principal elements of the problem with which we all have to deal, and with a full knowledge of the weight that must necessarily attach to the considered opinion of anyone holding my present office, I should have felt that I had failed in my duty both to India and Great Britain, if I had tendered any different advice to His Majesty's Government, and, when His Majesty's Government saw fit, as they did, to enjoin me to make an announcement on their behalf, I could have chosen no different language in which to make it.

The intention of my statement, of which I believe the purport to have been unmistakeable, and which carried the full authority of His Majesty's Government, was to focus attention on three salient points. Firstly, while saying that obviously no British Government could pre-judge the policy which it would recommend to Parliament after the report of the Statutory Commission had been considered, it re-stated in unequivocal terms the goal to which British policy in regard to India was directed. Secondly, it emphasised Sir John Simon's assertion that the facts of the situation compel us to make a constructive attempt to face the problem of the Indian States, with due regard to the Treaties which regulate their relations with the British Crown ; and, lastly, it intimated the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene a Conference on these matters before they themselves prejudged them by formulation of even draft conclusions.

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

I have never sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself, by the enunciation of a phrase, provide a solution for the problems which have to be solved before that purpose is fully realised. The assertion of a goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a different thing from the goal's attainment. No sensible traveller would feel that the clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey. But it is an assurance of direction, and in this case I believe it to be something of tangible value to India that those who demand full equality with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth on her behalf should know that Great Britain on her side also desires to lend her assistance to India in attaining to that position. The desire of most responsible opinion in India and that of His Majesty's Government is thus the same, and where unity of purpose is so assured we ought surely to be prepared to approach the practical difficulties with greater hopefulness. For my own part, if I am satisfied that someone with whom I have business to transact desires the same end as myself, I feel the better able to discuss any honest difference that may emerge between us, as to the means of its complete attainment, with a feeling of confidence that on the main purpose we do not differ.

Although it is true that in her external relations with other parts of the Empire India exhibits already several of the attributes of a self-governing Dominion, it is also true that Indian political opinion is not at present disposed to attach full value to these attributes of status, for the reason that their practical exercise is for the most part subject to the control or concurrence of His Majesty's Government. The demand for Dominion Status that is now made on behalf of India is based upon the general claim to be free from that control, more especially in those fields

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Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

that are regarded as of predominantly domestic interest. And here, as is generally recognised, there are real difficulties internal to India, and peculiar to her circumstances and world position, that have to be faced, and in regard to which there may be sharp variation of opinion both in India and in Great Britain. The existence of these difficulties cannot be seriously disputed, and the whole object of the Conference now proposed is to afford opportunity to His Majesty's Government of examining in free consultation with Indian leaders how they may best, most rapidly, and most surely be surmounted.

The Conference which His Majesty's Government will convene is not indeed the Conference that those have demanded, who claimed that its duty should be to proceed by way of majority vote to the fashioning of an Indian Constitution which should thereafter be accepted unchanged by Parliament. It is evident that any such procedure would be impracticable and impossible of reconciliation with the constitutional responsibility that must rest both on His Majesty's Government and upon Parliament. But, though the Conference cannot assume the duty that appertains to His Majesty's Government, it will be convened for the purpose hardly less important of elucidating and harmonising opinion, and so affording guidance to His Majesty's Government on whom the responsibility must subsequently devolve of drafting proposals for the consideration of Parliament. It is thus evident that the intrinsic soundness of any particular proposals made, and the manner in which the argument for them is presented, will be more important factors in the Conference than the exact numerical representation enjoyed by any of the different sections of opinion that will participate in the proceedings.

I do not now pronounce between the alternative methods by which the British Indian Delegation to the

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

Conference might be selected. It is safe to assume that the only desire of His Majesty's Government will be that this body should, so far as it may, be honestly and fairly representative of all opinion in India which can legitimately claim to be heard. In discussions where Central and Provincial issues must interact closely upon one another, many will no doubt be anxious that effective voice should be given to the Provincial, as well as to the All-India, point of view. There is no lack of men well equipped to deal with these several aspects of the problem, but, while those who attend the Conference should clearly be men who command the full confidence of those they represent, I trust that they will also be men of wide vision, strong judgment and imbued with the single desire of utilising the occasion for the common good of all the people of India. I have as yet tendered no advice to His Majesty's Government on this matter of composition of the Conference, and before doing so I shall welcome any informal intimation of their views that Hon'ble Members of the Legislature, or spokesmen of different interests in the country, may be willing to place before me.

Nor has it yet been possible to decide upon a date for the Conference, for this must depend upon certain factors which are still indefinite. It appears probable that the Imperial Conference will be held in the autumn of this year, and this no doubt will have to be one of the considerations present to the mind of His Majesty's Government when they fix the date for the Indian Conference. And, as I stated in my announcement, after the publication of the Report of the Statutory Commission, it will be necessary to give His Majesty's Government, the Government of India, Local Governments, the Princes and general public opinion reasonable time to study the complicated questions with which the Report will deal. Subject to

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

these practical necessities of fact, His Majesty's Government will desire to hold the Indian Conference as early as possible, and so far as they are concerned will interpose no avoidable delay. It is further the wish of His Majesty's Government to meet, in so far as it is possible, the wishes and convenience of the Indian representatives themselves in this matter, and it will therefore be valuable to me to have the views of Hon'ble Members and others on this point also.

That brings me to another subject which is closely connected with the time-table of the Conference. Hon'ble Members will recall that I announced my intention last May of extending the life of the Assembly, because according to our expectations at that time it seemed likely that the elections would otherwise be held on the eve of the publication of the Reports of the Statutory Commission and of the Indian Central Committee, and I considered that the uncertainty which must result from the speculation as to the possible recommendations of these bodies could not fail to be embarrassing both to candidates and voters. At the same time I have never thought that it would be right to deny the electorate all opportunity of expressing its views on these matters during the period, necessarily protracted, that must elapse before the final establishment of a new constitution. I have accordingly decided that elections should be held so as to permit the meeting of a new Assembly for the next Delhi session, and my recent order extending the life of the present Assembly to July 31st of this year was determined by the desire to leave it open to decide finally upon the date of the elections as may subsequently be found to be generally convenient, having regard to the date ultimately fixed for the Conference in London.

Let us now picture to ourselves a Conference, such as we may hope to see established, in actual operation. It

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

will be an assemblage of men of varying race, religion and political thought ; it will, by the inclusion of the Indian States, be both an expression of the practical links at present uniting the two parts of India, and, as we may trust, an augury of the greater unity that future days may come to witness. At the Conference table, along with all those representatives of India, will be those who represent Great Britain, and in view of the unique character of the gathering I would hope that, when his other preoccupations may permit, it might be possible for the Prime Minister to preside in person over its deliberations. Those taking part in the proceedings will be completely free to advocate any proposals for the realisation of Great Britain's professed policy that they may desire to advance. They will do this, if I may repeat the words of my announcement, " in the light of all the material then available "—a definition purposely drawn wide enough to ensure to the Conference every latitude and assistance in the responsible task upon which it will be engaged. It is surely no small thing that the claim of India to take a constructive part, without restriction and without prejudice, in the evolution of the new constitution should have been thus recognised by those on whom the final constitutional obligation must rest. The action of His Majesty's Government may indeed fairly be said to have created a new situation. If the fundamental problem remains the same, their action affords to India, as it does to Great Britain, the occasion of making a new approach to it, under conditions honourable to all, and in such form as should permit every type of opinion to contribute to its solution.

I had greatly hoped that leaders of Indian opinion would have been unanimous in accepting the hand of friendship preferred by His Majesty's Government, and so taken advantage of an opportunity unprecedented in India's history. All history is the tale of opportunities seized or lost, and it is one of its chief functions to teach us with

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

what fatal frequency men have allowed opportunities to pass them by, because it may be that the opportunity presented itself in a form different from that which they had expected or desired. And history, it seems, is in danger of repeating itself to-day in certain quarters of India. There are some who have accustomed themselves to believe that the only thing necessary to place India in the position they long to see her fill is some simple action by Great Britain, and who are therefore tempted to regard Great Britain as the only obstacle to the full and immediate realisation of their hopes. Yet, without undervaluing the part Great Britain has to play in these matters, I believe that at this moment the future well-being of India, as also the rate of her political progress, depends far more profoundly upon what her public men can achieve for her in the welding into true unity the different elements that compose her being and represent the sum of her political thought, than upon anything that His Majesty's Government or anybody else outside India may be able to do.

I am not careful to analyse the purpose of those who, at a critical stage in India's history, would counsel her to reject the way of reason which may persuade and convince in favour of destructive methods, the danger and futility of which she has already experienced in operation. But I am bound to make two things very clear. The first is this. I have striven hard, not I think without result, to secure recognition of what I felt to be the just claims of India at the hands of Great Britain, and at the same time to pursue a policy of day-to-day administration in India that might not needlessly imperil any chance there might be of guiding the ship carrying a precious freight of India's future into smoother waters. It has not therefore been the policy of my Government that prosecutions for seditious speech should be extended beyond those cases where the language used, or the circumstances of its employment, constituted an incitement to violence, or made it

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

necessary to regard the speech as incidental to a movement directed to the subversion of law and of the authority of Government. It has however recently been announced that the immediate goal of some who claim to represent India is repudiation of the allegiance to the British Crown. It has further been made clear that those who desire to achieve that goal contemplate resort to the unconstitutional and unlawful methods of civil disobedience, and with reckless disregard of consequences public profession has been made of the intention to refuse recognition of India's financial obligations, to which her credit has been pledged. I am confident that the great preponderance of Indian opinion, which is both loyal and sane, will, when it understands its implications, condemn decisively a programme, which could only be accomplished through the subversion of the Government by law established, and which would strike a fatal blow at India's economic life. It is evident that there are already some who regard violence, whether of individuals or of mobs, as the speediest and most effective solvent of political problems. Between such persons and all who believe in ordered society based upon the sanctity of life and respect for property and other lawful rights and interests, there can be no composition and no truce. And, although the very authors of the present policy deprecate, some on grounds of principle and some on grounds of expediency, resort to violence, they can hardly be so lacking in either imagination or recollection of past events in India as not to be able to picture the results in this direction which must follow, as they have always followed, from the adoption of the policy they recommend. It remains my firm desire, as it is that of His Majesty's Government, following the recently professed wish of the British House of Commons, to do everything that is possible for conciliation in order that Great Britain and India may collaborate together in finding the solution of our present difficulties. But it is no less incumbent upon me to make it

Address at the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly.

plain that I shall discharge to the full the responsibility resting upon myself and upon my Government for the effective maintenance of the law's authority and for the preservation of peace and order. And in the fulfilment of this duty I do not doubt that I should have the full support of all sober citizens.

The second thing I would point out is that in any case the Conference will be formed. The fact that some decline to take any part in deliberations so closely affecting their country's future only throws greater responsibility upon, and, I would add, gives wider opportunity to, those who are prepared to face and solve difficulties in constructive spirit. It is certainly no reason why His Majesty's Government should be deflected from their declared intention to call representatives of India to their counsels.

I entertain no doubt but that those who will go to the Conference from British India will be men who can speak authoritatively for the several component parts of the great volume of Indian public opinion which they will represent. To all that body of opinion I would say that, if India's case is to have full weight at the Conference, it is of the utmost importance that no efforts should be spared to enable it to find expression with something like unanimity. I do not apologise for dwelling upon this imperative necessity. From the time I first came to India, now nearly four years ago, I have laboured in public and in private to use such influence as I might possess in the way of assisting British India to win true peace among her own people, and so strengthen herself immeasurably before the eyes of the world. I would accordingly hope most earnestly that the leaders of all those who will be represented at the Conference may realise that no duty to which love of their motherland may impel them can transcend in dignity or worth this call to unity, and that they may utilise wisely the interval before the Conference in training the ears of their countrymen to hear it,

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPAL BOARD OF
LUCKNOW.

In replying to the Address presented at Lucknow by the ^{5th February} Municipal Board of Lucknow on the 5th February His Excellency 1930.
the Viceroy said :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I have to thank you cordially for the kind terms in which you have welcomed Lady Irwin and myself to your great and historic city, and for the congratulations you have offered to us and to our Staff on the failure of the recent attempt upon our train.

A period of ten years, as you have said, has elapsed since the visit of Lord Chelmsford to Lucknow, ten years of progress and development here as elsewhere throughout India. I congratulate you on the fulfilment of the hopes you then expressed for the establishment of a University and a Chief Court for Oudh by which the importance and prestige of your city has been materially enhanced.

You may well feel pride in the buildings to which you have alluded in your address. The new railway station at Charbagh forms a fitting approach to the capital of Oudh, and the Council Chamber of the Provincial Legislature, with its ample proportions and striking design, can challenge comparison with any building of its kind in India. Your new zoological garden has done much to increase the attractions of the Wingfield Park, and to stimulate a healthy interest in natural history among your residents. Much again has been done to adorn and ameliorate conditions in your city during the last ten years by the Improvement Trust, your debt to which you have fittingly acknowledged. I have learnt with pleasure of the businesslike capacity and energy displayed by the Trustees in tackling the difficult problems of extension, expansion and sanitation presented by an old and congested city, and I hope before I leave to see some of the fruits of their successful labours.

Address from the Municipal Board of Lucknow.

As for your own achievements in the sphere of municipal administration, the outlay you have incurred in converting some ten miles of your main thoroughfares into modern tar-coated roads is money well spent, not only from the viewpoint of the motorist and pedestrian, but of the health of those who live or work in these surroundings. I am glad to hear that the extension and re-organisation of your water works is nearing completion, and that not only has the volume of water available been greatly increased but also that its distribution has been much improved. I may also be allowed to congratulate you on the improvement shown in the collections of water tax during the past three years. You have acted wisely too in providing yourselves with a new municipal office and hall, which enable you to concentrate all your clerks and officials under a single roof, and add greatly to the efficiency of your supervision and disposal of the work of a large municipality.

You have referred to your interest in child welfare and education, two of the most important duties which fall to the lot of local authorities in a modern state. It is a pleasure to learn that the number of scholars, both boys and girls, attending your schools continues steadily to increase and that the proportion of scholars to children of school-going age has now reached the respectable figure of 43 per cent. for boys and nearly nine per cent. for girls. Much progress has still to be made however and the recent extension of compulsory primary education to five out of the eight wards into which your city is divided is a welcome step in advance, which I daresay may ere long be followed throughout the whole area committed to your charge.

But not alone by numbers under instruction can educational efficiency be judged, for this vitally depends upon the quality of the education given, which in turn

Address from the Municipal Board of Lucknow.

depends mainly on the quality of the teaching staff and the period over which, with the support of parents, education can be consecutively extended. I am certain that in all your schemes of progress you will keep these two fundamental points of supply of teachers and convinced support of parents constantly in mind.

It is also a satisfaction to know that the record of the Board as now constituted has not been marred by communal divergences in the fulfilment of your public duties, and that your relations with the local district authorities have always been cordial so that you have never been slow to help each other when occasion arose. You are fortunate, too, in having as head of your Province a Governor to whose judgment you may safely trust in matters of local administration, and of whose practical sympathy in all matters that affect their welfare the people of this Province are at all times assured.

So far, gentlemen, I have been able to reply to your address in terms of appreciation. But one important point remains on which I feel bound to offer you some friendly advice. You have alluded to your financial difficulties and the crisis which has resulted from the change recently made in your system of taxation, from octroi to a terminal tax. Few of us are at some time or other without our financial troubles, whether we are individuals or Governments or local bodies. But it is our duty so far as is possible to foresee and guard against them and, when they come, to meet them squarely and overcome them by our own efforts. I would earnestly advise you to take action to meet this emergency from your own resources and not to rely, as your address suggests, on assistance from the Provincial Government towards the relief of burdens which must rightly be accounted your own. May I recall to you a sentence used by Lord Chelmsford ten years ago in replying to your predecessors: "The basis of true municipal

Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

development lies in the readiness and ability of the citizens to bear the burden of local taxation''. Those words are truer than ever today when India is training herself to undertake her own Government over an ever-increasing sphere. You would hardly plead that in Lucknow taxation is already excessive, for I understand that the average incidence of municipal taxation for the last four years is decidedly lower here than it is in Allahabad, Benares or Cawnpore. In those three cities there has been a progressive increase in taxation, while here the incidence for 1929 is practically the same as it was in 1925. Those who are entrusted with the destinies of this city are, I feel confident, no less proud of their charge than the other local authorities of this Province, and I suggest that it is part of your duty as local leaders and formers of opinion to impress on your constituents that they can only have the modern amenities of life for which they ask by paying for them themselves. The many improvements that you have made in recent years show that their interests are in safe hands, and are their guarantee that self-sacrifice on their part will not be a wasted effort, but will bring as its reward the enhancement of the standards of civic life in the city of which they are rightly proud and in the advancement of which they have so vital an interest.

ADDRESS FROM THE TALUQDARS OF OUDH.

5th February 1930. . His Excellency the Viceroy in replying to the Address presented by the Taluqdars of Oudh at Lucknow on the 5th February said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you warmly on Lady Irwin's behalf and on my own for your kindness and hospitality in entertaining us here this evening in these appropriate surroundings, which recall the magnificence of Asaf-ud-daula and the days of the Nawabi, and which are so rich

Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

in historic associations for the old landed aristocracy whom you represent. We have been deeply touched by the cordiality of your welcome and the friendly feeling shown to us by the terms of your address. It is a privilege I highly appreciate that I should be permitted to acknowledge, as His Majesty the King-Emperor's representative, the sentiments of loyalty to the Crown to which you have given heartfelt expression this evening and which are shared by the many millions of your compatriots throughout the length and breadth of India.

No serious student of affairs, nor any one charged with the governance of this great Province, can afford to ignore the important position which the Taluqdars of Oudh have acquired by their history and social position. Nor can he fail to recognise the generous benefactions which they have made to various forms of public service. The statues and portraits of many distinguished benefactors from among your Order look upon us from the walls of this building to-night. The Canning College, the King George's Medical Hospital, the Lucknow University are monuments of your enlightened munificence. You have helped to make Lucknow a centre of education and western culture, and you have contributed on a noble scale to every institution affecting the life of the whole Province. You possess in a high degree the quality of remembering your friends and commemorating their services. As a body, you stand in special relation to the British Government as owners of estates which have been formally conferred on you by the Covenant of 1859, and regulated and protected by special legislation peculiar to your Order.

In your address you have expressed anxiety as to the preservation of the rights and privileges you have hitherto enjoyed, based on Sanads granted to you by the British Government. I trust that there may never be occasion to charge the Government with the breach of

Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

undertakings, written or unwritten, which they have given in the past. Your apprehension is, I take it, that with the growth of democratic ideas you anticipate a rapid expansion of the authority of legislative institutions elected on a popular basis, with which India has hitherto been unfamiliar. But here, if you use your opportunities boldly and wisely, it does not seem to me that you should have anything to fear. In a country whose chief industry is, and must ever be, agriculture, political power will depend to a great degree on those who are able to guide and organise opinion among the rural population. An Order such as yours has therefore great opportunities and great responsibilities. The extent to which you will be in a position to influence the course of legislation must depend largely on your own efforts, on your adaptability to new ways, on your capacity for organisation, for leadership and for concerted political action. Many of you are the owners of large estates ; many of you are the scions of historic families, tracing your ancestry far back into the centuries. But in these times of stress and change no one can rest only upon the heritage of the past ; all must take their share in the day-to-day work which imperceptibly shapes the destinies of a great country. Organisation, education, close touch with the land and with your tenantry, sustained and enlightened interest in public affairs, seem to be some of the means by which you will take the place to which your position naturally calls you in the future government of the country.

The better the landlord, the more he will be trusted by his tenantry and the more influence will he find himself exercising over them, in that they will naturally look to him for guidance. For this reason, among others, I am glad to know that many of you are already taking one of the most effective ways of improving the husbandry of the countryside by developing agriculture on modern lines, and maintaining for this purpose large farms in

Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

which the latest agricultural improvements are demonstrated. You no doubt readily recognise that much yet remains to be done before our agricultural methods can compare favourably with those of other countries, but the landowner can do more if he will than anyone else in this direction, and you as owners of large estates are particularly well placed to further the efforts of the Provincial Agricultural Department to improve and increase the produce of the land.

You have referred in appreciative terms to the settlement legislation of 1928. The United Provinces Government was the first to enact the main principles of settlement legislation and I am glad to think that this was done with the support of the landlords in the Legislative Council. The purpose of the legislation in question was to hold the scales even between the interests of tenants and owners, and it is satisfactory to know that this purpose may be generally held to have been fairly achieved. In this, as in all matters affecting the welfare of your Order, you have been fortunate in being able to rely upon the wise advice and sympathy of the Governors of this Province, both present and past. I believe indeed that on one of them, Sir Harcourt Butler, who was himself an Oudh Taluqdar at heart, you conferred the honour of an extraordinary Membership of your Order, and in Sir Malcolm Hailey you have a friend in whom your confidence will never be misplaced.

Your address drew attention to the question of the representation to be accorded to the landed aristocracy of India at the Conference which is to take place in London. I have made it plain on more than one occasion that it is His Majesty's Government's intention that the Conference should be fully and fairly representative of all the varying interests in India, and, although no final decision as to the method of selecting its *personnel* has yet been reached, I would think no Conference fully

Address from the Members of the Ex-Royal Family of Oudh.

representative of India that did not include among its members some qualified by their own knowledge to speak on behalf of the great agricultural interests in this country. For those interests depend perhaps more than any other upon peaceful and orderly administration and it is obvious that full and careful consideration is due to the views of those whose welfare and contentment is the surest guarantee of the stability of any Government.

You have spoken of your devoted loyalty to the Throne and the Person of our Sovereign, of your determination to maintain the partnership of Great Britain and India, and of your resolve to combat all disruptive propaganda and doctrine. I need no such assurance from a body whose past record bears ample testimony to the willing assistance they have given in times of crisis. There are some in India today who think that the way to political salvation lies through a desert of anarchy and chaos, in which ordered society as India has hitherto known it would be destroyed to be remodelled on a pattern alien alike to her instinct and to her tradition. If ever an attempt were made to translate this wild creed into practical form, it would of course be the evident duty of Government to protect society from so disastrous and disruptive an attack. And in this, as in any of the other of the complex political problems that now confront us, I am glad to think that Government can count with assurance upon the wise counsel and co-operation of the Taluqdars of Oudh.

ADDRESS FROM THE MEMBERS OF THE *Ex*-ROYAL
FAMILY OF OUDH.

8th February
1930.

The Members of the *Ex*-Royal Family of Oudh presented an Address to the Viceroy at Lucknow on the 6th February, to which His Excellency made the following reply :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you on my own behalf and

Address from the Members of the Ex-Royal Family of Oudh.

on behalf of Lady Irwin for your cordial address, and for the kindly terms in which you have bidden us welcome to Lucknow. India has perhaps seen in greater measure than most countries the rise and fall of thrones and the growth and decline of great families. The remains of famous cities, and the surviving names and memorials of a vanished past, claim the frequent interest and sympathy of those who traverse the historic areas scattered through the length and breadth of India. You yourselves are the representatives of a family which in the past held the highest position in Oudh. In recent times the circumstances of your family have undergone great change, and it is greatly to your credit that, tried though you have been by fortune, you have never wavered in your loyalty to the British Crown, nor failed to show every desire to support the administration by any means in your power. In your address you refer to your sense of gratitude for the protection and assistance which has been given to you ; I can assure you on my part that my Government have every desire to continue to the members of your family the consideration which they have deserved and enjoyed in the past.

You have given voice to some anxiety that future constitutional changes may imperil your religious liberties, and in this connection you have made a reference to the Marriage Restraint Act. It is a matter of great regret both to myself and to my Government that this measure, conceived solely with the object of promoting a higher standard of physical and moral well-being among the people, has met with opposition from certain quarters. I need hardly say that I fully sympathise with your jealousy to maintain intact your spiritual freedom in matters of religion ; and it has been, and will always be, the policy of my Government scrupulously to safeguard the interests and claims of every religious community, in so far as these do not conflict with the general in-

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Address from the Members of the Ex-Royal Family of Oudh.

terests of the people at large. But, as I had occasion to say only a short time ago, I am confident that the Muslim community as a whole would not wish to dissociate itself from the furtherance of these general interests, towards which the measure we are now discussing is aimed, and it is my earnest hope that the doubts which are now felt will be dispelled with the passage of time and the fuller consideration which this will allow. As to the apprehension you have expressed for the future on the adequacy of the security to be afforded to the religious and other needs of the Muslims under any new constitution that may be devised, I would reiterate the assurance which I have given elsewhere—that I shall make it my duty to acquaint those, who may now or later have special responsibility in these matters, with the views you have laid before me.

You have referred in your address to the buildings which commemorate so much of the history of the Oudh dynasty and which add so greatly to the beauty and interest of Lucknow. Many of these are, I understand, already protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. The majority of them, however, including the great Imambara of Asaf-ud-Daula are in private possession. Unless, therefore, the Trustees are prepared to enter into an agreement with the Secretary of State for India under section 5 of that Act, it is as things stand today not legally possible for the Government of India to assume responsibility for their maintenance. I would commend this course of action to the consideration of the Trustees.

I would say something too with regard to the question you have mentioned of the financial assistance which Government affords for the education of the boys of your family. You will remember that between 1911 and 1923 the sum of money allotted by the Government of India for this purpose was increased by more than three times the original amount, but the results of the facilities

Durbar at Lucknow.

provided in this way were not altogether satisfactory, for a small percentage only of scholars have succeeded so far as to obtain suitable employment. The question of this grant and of its adequacy will be reviewed a year or two hence, and I would urge upon you all the necessity of proving that you merit a continuance, or even an augmentation, of Government's assistance by showing that you have utilised to the full the opportunities placed before you.

In conclusion it is my privilege to acknowledge your expressions of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor and your congratulations on his recovery. I have received assurances similar to yours from all over India and there can be no stronger bond than this common loyalty to help forward together the people of this vast country along the path of progress in which their feet are set. By continuing as I know you will to give practical shape in daily life to your old traditions of loyalty, you will be making the best contribution that lies in the power of any individual or class to the further evolution of your native land.

DURBAR AT LUCKNOW.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Durbar held at Lucknow on the 7th February 1930.

Gentlemen,—It gives me the greatest pleasure to welcome to this Durbar so large and representative a gathering of the leading residents of this Province. I have no doubt that to you, as it is to me, a Durbar of this character is an event of no small significance. India has never been slow to pay due homage to her Kings and Emperors or to show respect to those on whom the duties of the King's Government devolves. Her loyalty has been

Durbar at Lucknow.

wont to find expression in diverse ways, by fidelity of service in days of stress, by support of the administration in normal times, and by assurances and proofs of devotion at all seasons. For centuries past the ceremony of a Durbar has been expressive of the people's instinct for doing formal honour to the representative of the monarchy and for offering assurances of their allegiance to the King or his Viceregent. Such outward acts, interpreting in traditional form thoughts that lie deep in the hearts of men, are a more potent influence in life than is always recognised, and it is good that their practice should be preserved. Modern life, under pressure of its own development, has dispensed with some of the ceremony that had survived to it from more leisurely and spacious times. But India has saved more than many countries of her ancient pageantry. And I am glad to think that the time-honoured function of a Durbar still remains to afford His Majesty's faithful subjects an opportunity of reaffirming in customary fashion their continued loyalty to the King-Emperor.

Such, I am sure, is the underlying thought in all our minds this morning. And as His Majesty's representative it is my privilege to assure you once again of the close and constant concern with which His Majesty follows the fortunes of each part of his great dominions and each section of his people.

Good and ill-fortune in a country, whose wealth is chiefly in the fruits of its soil, is generally synonymous with favourable and unfavourable seasons, and my Government has seen with growing anxiety the partial failure of five harvests ending with the kharif crop of last year. Drought and untimely cold, and in some districts the onslaught of locusts, have caused shortage in most quarters of the Province, and in some places conditions of actual famine. Good organisation, helped by modern communication, has however minimised the

Durbar at Lucknow.

suffering which inevitably follows on a series of such disasters, and which affects most sharply a closely populated country like the Province of Oudh where I believe the rural population is more dense than in any equal area in the world. Government has also helped to meet the situation by recourse to large remissions and suspensions of revenue, which of necessity react adversely upon the finances of the Province, and by extensive loans for the purchase of seed and cattle. It is a cause of great relief to me and to my Government to know that the prospects of the present crop are good, and that unless anything untoward occurs in the next few weeks the Province as a whole is assured of a satisfactory harvest.

The spectre of serious famine has now lost its terrors for those areas of the Province which have been provided with irrigation, and it is gratifying that this area should have recently been very greatly increased by the completion of the Sarda Canal, after eight years of devoted work by its engineering staff. The heroic efforts they made to overcome the difficulties presented by physical obstacles and by the malarious nature of the forest area, through which the canal had to pass, have been amply rewarded by the knowledge that the canal has already brought the blessing of water to half a million acres of land, and will before long have extended its beneficent influence to nearly three times that area. Thanks to the energy of the Agricultural Department, Java sugarcane has already been introduced into the country commanded by the canal, and this area is rapidly expanding. Cultivators will, I trust, not be slow to realise the advantages of growing the better classes of rice, cotton and other crops on irrigated areas, and thus bring to full fruition this great scheme for the development of the countryside.

In the Council Chamber, too, rural questions have claimed a large share of attention during recent years. The year 1926 will for long remain an important one in

Durbar at Lucknow.

the annals of the Province of Agra on account of the changes brought about in the relations of landlord and tenant by the Tenancy Act passed in that year. The important provisions of that Act are well known to you. As in all compromises, each party had to forego something it desired, but it is all the more creditable that through considerable differences of opinion a solution has been reached. The acquisition of occupancy rights by tenants has been curtailed, but on the other hand those who were non-occupancy tenants—and they of course constitute the greater proportion of the tenants in the Province—have gained materially by receiving statutory rights of possession for life. As a corollary to this again landlords have their extended rights of acquisition for certain specified purposes. I trust that the new machinery for the determination of fair and equitable rents will imbue both landlords and tenants with that feeling of confidence and stability which is essential for the proper development of the Province's agricultural assets. My Government will watch with the closest interest the practical results of this measure, which marks a definite advance in agrarian legislation and which I am glad to know is already proving beneficial to the rural population as a whole.

Of equal importance with the Tenancy Act is the Land Revenue Act, passed the year before last. This Act was the first in India to carry out the suggestion made by the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill in 1919 that the time had come to embody in the law the main principles by which the land revenue is determined. It has a two-fold importance. It has placed settlement procedure on a statutory basis. It has also made important changes in that procedure favourable to the owner of land. It has reduced the percentage of net assets to be taken as land revenue, it has extended the period of settlement, it has limited the

Durbar at Lucknow.

enhancement of revenue on individual holdings, and has given the Legislative Council the right to discuss both the more important operations at each stage of a settlement and also any changes proposed in the settlement rules. It may well be claimed that this Act of your Legislative Council emphasises the constant desire of Government to promote the welfare of the land-owning classes, and to give to the people themselves as wide a measure of responsibility as possible for the right adjustment of the interests of all parties.

Other notable changes affecting the welfare of the inhabitants of this Province have taken place since a Viceregal Durbar was last held in Lucknow. A Chief Court has been established in Oudh, to which has been entrusted original civil jurisdiction in cases of high valuation, thus recognising the importance of the large Taluqdari estates and of the complicated litigation which often arises in connection with them. A new affiliating University has been founded at Agra which comprises the old colleges associated with Allahabad University. Though a University of this kind has not all the merits of residential and teaching Universities, it is difficult to conceive that in the present condition of higher education in India it will be possible for this Province to do without one affiliating University, and I feel confident that this rôle will be efficiently discharged by the University at Agra.

But it is not necessary for me to refer particularly to all the directions in which steady expansion and progress can be observed. Your Council House in this City, providing a worthy setting for the deliberations of those in whose hands the fortunes of the Province now largely rest, your road communications, the hydro-electric scheme which will bring light and power for agricultural and other industries to a large part of the Province at rates which I believe are lower than in any

Durbar at Lucknow.

towns of similar size in the north of India, these are circumstantial evidence of the manner in which all who are concerned with the prosperity of the Province are working together for its greater good.

Your Province has long been fortunate in having at the head of its administration a succession of distinguished men whose first thoughts have always been directed to its welfare, and who have given unsparingly of their experience and labour in the interests of the people committed to their charge. Of those with whom I have had the privilege of personal acquaintance in India, Sir Harcourt Butler's memory is still fresh among you, and as Viceroy I have watched with confidence the administration of three Governors, Sir William Marris, Sir Alexander Muddiman—whose untimely death robbed India and Indians of one of the best friends they ever had—and now Sir Malcolm Hailey. Sir Malcolm brings rare gifts to the discharge of his responsibilities, and you yourselves, I doubt not, have had time to learn that the United Provinces will always find in him a strong champion and a wise counsellor.

I have spoken hitherto, gentlemen, of matters that affect particularly your own Province. You are also however vitally interested in those events that are now being enacted upon the wider stage of India, in regard to which a clear pronouncement has now been made defining the purpose of British policy. There can no longer be any doubt that, whatever the means by which that policy is brought to fruition, Great Britain can never have any other purpose for India than to bring her to a place of equal partnership with the other self-governing Dominions. As a step towards the achievement of this purpose His Majesty's Government, on whom along with Parliament the ultimate responsibility rests, have solicited the counsel of representatives drawn from the several sides of life and thought in India that desire

Durbar at Lucknow.

and deserve to have the opportunity of responding to His Majesty's Government's invitation. There will, I fancy, be none among my audience this morning who will be insensible to what this may mean for India, or who will not be eager to lend their willing co-operation in the solution of the problems which lie before us. There are some unhappily who seem determined to tread a different path and who have proclaimed a policy which, if it might ever succeed, could not fail to involve India in irreparable misfortune and disaster. The sinister possibilities of civil disobedience are not such as to be controlled by any formula however patiently pondered or cunningly devised. As well might the mountaineer seek to stem an avalanche by tracing a line with his ice-axe athwart its course. It is impossible to suppose that people can be incited to break the law without such incitement culminating, whether its authors so desire or not, in violent action. Government would clearly never be justified in permitting the development of any such situation, so heavily fraught with danger to the whole body-politic, and there can therefore be no question but that law and order must without reservation be maintained.

The whole country can plainly judge the alternative destinies that lie before it. On the one side is free membership in the British Commonwealth, where the diverse gifts of each constituent part may be linked for the common betterment of the whole society and of the human race. On the other lies independence, for which India is invited to destroy that influence for unity which springs from a common loyalty to the person of the Crown, in order that when the flames of anarchy have exhausted their destructive force she may perhaps at last achieve a state of precarious and powerless isolation.

Your very presence here this morning, gentlemen, is an indication of your judgment upon these issues. I

Banquet at Malerkotla.

mentioned a few minutes ago the significance of a Durbar such as this, and I believe the spirit of this gathering to be typical of the loyalty of the great mass of the King-Emperor's Indian subjects. For I feel little doubt that all stable opinion in this country will refuse to be misled by specious words, but will rather decide to go forward with courage, trust and faith towards the achievement of Great Britain's declared purpose of giving India her true place among the great Dominions. You yourselves, gentlemen, have your part to play in this great constructive effort, and that you will play it worthily I am confident. It will mean that you must be prepared to throw all your energies into the task of guiding aright the judgment of your fellows, but if you are ready so to act you will surely find that you have indeed achieved something for India greater than anything hitherto recorded upon the pages of her history.

BANQUET AT MALERKOTLA.

11th February
1930.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Banquet at Malerkotla on the 11th February :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty is to thank Your Highness for the very kind manner in which you have proposed the toast of Lady Irwin and myself and for the friendly terms in which you have welcomed us to your State. Our visit to Maler Kotla has of necessity been briefer than we would have wished, but by Your Highness' kindness we have been able to see a good deal of your capital and its people and have been able this afternoon to pay a most interesting visit to the mint and the exhibition of the industries of Your Highness' State.

This evening we have listened to Your Highness' fascinating account of the history of Maler Kotla State from its earlier days until the present time. The

Banquet at Malerkotla.

friendship of Maler Kotla with the British Government began, as Your Highness has reminded us, in the first year or two of the last century, and, in return for the assistance which the Nawab then gave to the British army against the Mahratta forces, the British were a few years later able to repay their debt by supporting the Nawab in his efforts to maintain the independence of his State. I am glad to think that since those days cordial relations have constantly been maintained between the British Government and Maler Kotla and, as Your Highness has said, ample proof of the State's unfailing loyalty has been given on more than one occasion by your State forces. The services which the Maler Kotla Sappers rendered to Great Britain during the Great War and the part they played in the second battle of Ypres, and the battles of Neuve Chapelle, Loos and La Bassée, can never be forgotten. From 1914 to the last days of the War this force was constantly on active service and suffered heavy casualties which were made good by reinforcements from the State. I believe that the total number of Your Highness' subjects who served during the War was over 31 per cent. of the eligible male population of Maler Kotla, a figure which was, I understand, surpassed only by two British Districts and by no other Indian State. The generous contributions moreover which the State made towards the various war funds earned the grateful thanks of Government in those times of stress. I am glad to know that the military traditions of your State are being worthily upheld by your third son, who has recently entered Sandhurst and is now receiving training as an Honorary Cadet.

Your Highness has touched on the financial aspect of your administration to which I understand Your Highness rightly attaches importance. I have no doubt that the measures in this regard which Your Highness has in contemplation will secure a firm foundation for the development of the State.

Banquet at Malerkotla.

Your Highness has spoken of the progress made in the matter of irrigation, education and in other directions, both in the town of Maler Kotla and in the other parts of the State. New grain markets and bazars for Your Highness' capital will undoubtedly add to the convenience of its inhabitants, and I have no doubt that in the organisation of such projects Your Highness will guard against the tendency to encourage development by means of unhealthy speculation, which stifles legitimate trade and in the long run produces disastrous social and economic evils.

I have listened with much gratification to the acknowledgment made by Your Highness of the assistance and advice which you have received from Mr. Fitzpatrick and his predecessors, and I can assure Your Highness that it is Government's earnest hope that the same relations which have existed between your State and the political authorities over many years may long continue. Your Highness has also shown wisdom in your policy of securing the services of experienced retired officers of the Punjab Government such as Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Muhammad Din and Khan Bahadur Munshi Rahim Bakhsh, and I feel sure that you will derive the maximum benefit from this policy by giving these officers the fullest measure of your confidence.

I have to thank Your Highness for what you have said regarding the failure of the attempt upon my train last December. Both the Indian Princes and the people of British India have expressed in no uncertain manner their horror of outrages such as this, and Your Highness has echoed what I know is felt by the vast majority of the Indian people when you offer your whole-hearted co-operation to Government in the suppression of movements which can in the end lead only to a country's ruin and disgrace. Your Highness is also at one with your brother Princes and the preponderance of the people of

*Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of
Commerce and Industry.*

India in giving voice to your approval of the Conference which is before long to take place in London. One of the conditions of the success of the Conference will, as Your Highness has suggested, be that it should be representative of every point of view, and, though the method of choice of its *personnel* has not yet been decided, I recognise to the full the importance of satisfying the general body of the States that their case will be examined in all its aspects. The Conference itself will give an opportunity, which I trust may be seized by all those who claim a share in fashioning India's future, of seeing together, as it were, in a single panoramic picture, the varying interests and problems of this vast country. To these deliberations the Princes will have their own peculiar contribution to make, and I earnestly trust that on the part of none may that goodwill and breadth of vision be lacking to which Your Highness has given utterance tonight and which are the essential conditions of a satisfactory solution of the problems which face India today.

ANNUAL SESSION OF THE FEDERATION OF INDIAN
CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which held its Annual Session at Delhi on the 14th February 1930.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I would begin by thanking all the members of the Federation for the kind welcome they have given me, and in particular your President, Mr. Birla, for the terms in which he has given expression to it. I need scarcely say that it is a great pleasure to find myself once more taking part in the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and I know that the same pleasure is felt by the members of my Government, though the occasion has

*Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of
Commerce and Industry.*

found them in the middle of a busy session of the Assembly and it has therefore been difficult for them to devote as much of their time as they would have wished to your proceedings.

I should like, gentlemen, to associate myself with what your President has said, deploring the death of Mr. B. F. Madon and Mr. Narottam Morarjee. The industrial life of Bombay and of India, and perhaps more particularly those enterprises with which they were intimately concerned, have suffered a loss which they will find it hard to fill.

At the beginning of Mr. Birla's interesting address to which we have just had the pleasure of listening, he referred in appreciative terms to the admission of Indian firms to commercial organisations in London, and I would warmly echo the satisfaction he expressed. Such a spirit of co-operation between British and Indian commercial interests is essential to the further development of Indian commerce and industry, and I am glad that I should have been able to play some small part in this matter.

Your President went on to speak of the unsatisfactory position of trade in general throughout the country. A year ago there seemed to be good ground for hope that trade was definitely recovering from the depression it has felt since the Great War, for the figures both of imports and exports in 1928-29, as calculated on the basis of pre-war prices, was for the first time higher than the corresponding figures for 1913-14. Another interesting feature of the trade of the year 1928-29 was that it marked the return to what for all practical purposes may be described as pre-war conditions of the relative general level of prices of India's imports and exports. A discouraging sign of India's post-war trade was that, relative to pre-war prices, the general level of prices for imported articles was considerably higher

Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

than that for exported articles ; in other words, India was paying more for her imports than she was getting for her exports. Index Numbers prepared in the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics show that in 1920-21 the general level of prices for imports stood at 237 and for exports at only 140 on the basis of 100 for both import and export prices in 1913-14. This represented a difference of 97 points—a difference which interfered considerably with the overseas trade of India. In 1924-25 the difference still stood at 26 points, but by 1928-29 it had fallen to only 6.

Unfortunately however, although the position up to the end of the year 1928-29 gave good ground for sober optimism, the tide of progress has slackened, forces world-wide in character have exercised a depressing effect on trade in general, and the outlook for Indian trade and commerce is at present less favourable than it was a year ago. I can only express the fervent hope that the set-back will prove to be temporary, and that your Federation at its next meeting will be able to record a return to improved conditions of trade and commerce.

There is however one exception to the present somewhat unfavourable outlook. Recently conditions in the coal trade have exhibited a marked improvement and at present the industry is more prosperous than it has been for some years past. The success attained by the Coal Grading Board has probably contributed to this welcome change. The Board was constituted at the beginning of 1926 on the recommendation of Sir Frank Noyce's Committee, and since then the total shipments of coal from Kidderpore Docks for cargo and bunkers have risen steadily from 1½ million tons in 1924-25 to nearly 3¾ million tons in 1928-29. It is hoped that the organisation created by the Indian Soft Coke Cess Act, which was passed during the last Simla Session of the Legislature, will also be of value to the coal industry. The

Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

Committee will be financed by a cess of 2 annas a ton on soft coke despatched by rail from collieries in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, and will be charged with the promotion of the sale and improving the methods of the manufacture of soft coke.

I welcome the interest taken by your Federation in the development of an overseas trade organisation as indicated in one of the resolutions on your agenda dealing with the appointment of Trade Commissioners. It will interest you to know that a scheme has been prepared for the appointment of Indian Trade Commissioners at Hamburg, Milan, New York, Durban, Mombasa and Alexandria. As a corollary to the establishment of Trade Commissioners in Africa and the Near East, it is also proposed to appoint a Deputy Director of Commercial Intelligence at Bombay. For it is expected that the work of these Trade Commissioners will centre chiefly round the expansion of India's export trade in cotton piece-goods, and, if we are to reap the full benefit of their labour, it is essential that we should have a Commercial Intelligence Officer at Bombay who will be in direct contact both with the exporting houses and the Trade Commissioners. I feel little doubt that this overseas trade organisation will be of material assistance in the development of India's export trade.

In this connection it is gratifying to know that the new India House is now nearing completion, and will I hope be opened in the early summer of this year. The offices of the High Commissioner for India are, as you know, at present situated in inadequate premises and in an inconvenient locality, and the new site in Aldwych, next to Bush House and not far from Australia House and within reasonable distance of the City, is a great improvement on the old arrangements. The new building provides, in addition to the usual office accommodation,

Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

a large show room with exhibition windows for the Trade Commissioner's Department and a Bureau on the Aldwych front for the Railway Department. It is our hope that India House will be treated as a centre in London for visitors from India, and with this object in view it has been equipped with a good reference library and adequate facilities for reading and writing. A feature in which I was greatly interested, when I visited the building in September last, is the use that has been made of Indian timber. It has been possible to provide for the display of a full range of Indian decorative woods by using them for the panelling and flooring of the more important rooms, and Indian utility timber has been used for all the ordinary joinery work. I think that there is every hope that this will have a very considerable advertising value, and will assist the efforts now being made to further the sale of Indian woods in European markets.

You may remember that on the last occasion on which I had the pleasure of addressing your Federation I referred to the formation of an Indian Accountancy Board, and I hope that during the present session of the Assembly legislation may be passed to give effect to the scheme. The ultimate aim of Government is to build up in India an Association or Associations of Accountants of the same standing and reputation as the principal Institutes and Societies of Accountants in the United Kingdom, and it is hoped that the constitution of an Indian Accountancy Board will prepare the way for the establishment of an Association or Associations of this nature.

Another piece of legislation which must be of particular interest to commercial and shipping interests is the Indian Lighthouse Act which, with other legislation aimed at centralising the Mercantile Marine Administration, was brought into force from the 1st of April 1929. **All general lights round the coasts of India are now**
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Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

under the direct control of the Government of India, assisted by a Lighthouse Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of Indian and British shipping and commercial interests. It has for some time been recognised that the lights along the west coast of India are not up to modern requirements, and the first fruits of the centralisation of the administration will be improvement in the lighting of this coast, including the provision of a light of the first order at Vengurla Rocks, an important turning point for ships voyaging along the west coast of India. I would take the opportunity here of acknowledging the great assistance which Government have received from the Advisory Committee both in the preliminary arrangements preceding the introduction of the Act and in the administration of the Act since it came into force.

On the important question of the relations between employers and labour you have rightly felt, Mr. President, that your position as a member of the Royal Commission on Labour precluded you from dwelling at any length. It is satisfactory to know that in the prosecution of their task the Royal Commission, to whom we confidently look for guidance in helping towards the eradication of some of the causes of present discontent, should have the assistance of your experience and practical knowledge of Indian industrial conditions. If industry is to prosper, not only must labour be happy and contented, but the relations prevailing between employers and employed must be above suspicion. Workmen on their side must recognise the difficulties of their employers and realise that the most effective way of raising their own standards of living is to bring greater efficiency to the performance of their tasks. It is essential on the other hand that the employers should understand and sympathise with all the healthy aspirations of their employees, and should

Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

recognise as one of the first charges on industry the payment not merely of a minimum wage but of a wage which will enable a workman to take pride in his work and lead a life which is something fuller than the mere completion of his daily task in mill or workshop. In this way we may hope that the idea of opposition between the claims of employers and their labour will gradually be replaced by a sense of partnership and identity of interest which will ensure the further development and the greater prosperity of India's industry.

You have drawn a picture, Mr. President, of the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture which I think is perhaps unduly pessimistic. The statements we have received from Local Governments on the progress they have made in giving effect to the recommendations in that Report show that it has furnished a most valuable stimulus to agricultural development in all directions. The main lesson which the Report strove to impress upon India was that there is no short-cut to the improvement of agricultural conditions in this country, and that this can only be attained by patient and co-ordinated research into the main problems, by steady development of agricultural propaganda and by the demonstration in the villages of improvements of established value. It also urged that a sustained effort should be made to assist cultivators to organise themselves for the betterment of their conditions of life. It was because the Commission realised the necessity for a comprehensive grasp of these questions that it recommended the establishment of an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. That recommendation my Government immediately and wholeheartedly accepted. The Council has entered upon its duties with zeal, and it is a most hopeful augury for its future that it should be receiving as it is the warm co-operation of Provincial Governments in matters where

*Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of
Commerce and Industry.*

Provincial experience and resources can be profitably pooled with those of the Government of India for the common good.

Another canvas you have painted in sombre colours today is that of the general financial situation in India. I do not propose to examine in detail the figures which Mr. Birla has put forward, but I would take this opportunity of correcting what I believe to be certain misapprehensions on his part. No one can deny that India has large foreign liabilities, but such foreign liabilities are no evidence of weakness in the financial position of a country in the early stages of development. With the assistance of imported capital India has acquired assets in the shape of railways, irrigation works, factories and other enterprises, of which the value is considerably in excess of her liabilities. I am convinced that, if it were possible to draw up a balance sheet exhibiting the financial condition of India, it would show that, as a result of the development which has taken place during the last hundred years, there is an enormous surplus of assets, representing the gain to India which has accrued on account of developments made possible by the use of foreign capital. I will mention only one fact to indicate that the real resources of India are not so inadequate as has been suggested by your President. Since 1900 the value of India's net imports of gold has been nearly 400 million pounds and of silver 350 million pounds, and India is still importing gold at the rate of about 15 million pounds per annum and silver at the rate of 7½ million pounds. It is surely unreasonable to suggest that a country which has an enormous stock of gold and silver, and which is still drawing gold and silver in considerable quantities from the rest of the world, is in so weak a financial position as to be unable to meet its foreign liabilities. In the President's view our failure

Annual Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

to discharge our annual obligations is having the effect of causing India's debt to increase at an undesirable rate. So far as I can learn this conclusion is not supported by statistical data, and on all available evidence appears to be contrary to the actual facts. There is, I believe, no evidence that a large amount of capital is at present being brought into India by private agencies ; in fact, the indications are that a certain amount of private capital is being exported. The external borrowings of Government were examined in detail by Sir George Schuster in his last budget speech in which he stated that during the six years ending the 31st March 1929 the Government capital expenditure abroad amounted to £60 millions, whereas the amount of foreign money which India had to raise to finance this expenditure amounted to £17 millions. In other words, the surplus resources available for meeting India's foreign liabilities amounted to £43 millions, and it was possible to invest this surplus in further enterprises which will increase the productivity of India. I would maintain therefore that the financial position of India is sound, and that there are no substantial grounds for the President's anxiety.

I would go further and appeal to all those who hold responsible public positions in India to endeavour to allay, rather than to use language which may have the effect of encouraging, feelings of disquiet at a time when she especially needs the confidence of the rest of the world. It is right that Indians should strive to make their country, as it can be made, economically strong and independent. But I believe that the leaders of economic opinion in India can best do this, and can best encourage productive enterprise, not by exaggerating difficulties but by witnessing to the solid grounds which exist for reasonable optimism.

Opening of the Delhi Fine Arts Exhibition.

It remains only to declare your proceedings open. In doing so I thank you once more for having given me this opportunity of inaugurating your deliberations, and of assuring you again of the interest and concern with which I shall continue to watch the development of India's trade and commerce.

OPENING OF THE DELHI FINE ARTS EXHIBITION.

20th February 1930.

The following speech was delivered by H. E. the Viceroy when he opened the Delhi Fine Arts Exhibition on the 20th February :—

Sir John Thompson, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has given me very great pleasure to be able to be present here to-day and to open this the third Exhibition of the Delhi Fine Arts Exhibition Society. In 1928 I understand there were only 217 exhibits and in 1929 there were 254. This year over 1,300 exhibits have been received from some 250 artists. This large increase is very encouraging not only to the Delhi Fine Arts Exhibition Society, and all who are interested in Indian art, but also to those of us who are concerned with the questions of decorating the large Government buildings that are now nearing completion both in India and in England.

The art of a people is the expression of their character and genius. J. A. Symonds once said—"Painters are but the hands, and poets but the voices, whereby peoples express their accumulated thoughts and permanent emotions. Behind them crowd the generations of the myth-makers ; and around them floats the vital atmosphere of enthusiasms on which their own souls and the souls of their brethern have been nourished." There can therefore be no more fascinating or profitable study for those who have to do with the administration of a country than the study of its art. It is a book which lies open to be read by

Opening of the Delhi Fine Arts Exhibition.

all who will take the trouble to understand the characters in which it is written. The reader from another country will find not only a whole range of subjects which is new to him, but a method of treatment which compels him to revise and widen his whole conception of what art may mean.

An exhibition like the present one affords a great opportunity for such a study. The last thirty years have seen a wonderful renaissance of Indian art, due not so much to the impact of western art on eastern thought, as to the general ferment of ideas caused by the spread of education, the reaction against the domination of the West in the field of thought and feeling, and the set of the tide in the direction of a separate national consciousness. Indian art, standing firmly on its own feet, is now in a position to make a deliberate choice of such elements as the West has to offer it, and to decide which it will adopt and which it will reject. And we may be content to leave it to exercise its choice, confident that, while its new acquisitions may give it a wider appeal to those who are unfamiliar with its traditions and its methods, it will do nothing to detract from its essentially Indian characteristics. The modern school of Indian artists show such amazing skill in their own technique that there is no reason to suppose that they will not master with equal facility any features of foreign technique which they may desire to adopt.

The work of decoration of The Viceroy's House is a larger task than we can hope to undertake in the immediate future, and I fear I shall not see it very far advanced during my Viceroyalty. But in the meanwhile I am endeavouring gradually to collect suitable pictures for the House, and Government wish to select Indian artists who will go to England this summer to copy the Royal Portraits which His Majesty the King-Emperor has selected to be hung there in one of the State Drawing Rooms.

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

As you all know, the Delhi Fine Arts Exhibition Society has been kind enough to help us in this matter by giving a special prize for a portrait done in European style by an Indian artist, and I am very pleased to know that the effect has been to bring so much work here to public notice.

As miniaturists, Indian artists, both Hindus and Muhammadans, showed wonderful power in days gone by and they are now making rapid strides in the field of oil-portraiture in large, which is to them I suppose a comparatively new departure both in manner and in technique. In this new field there is less scope for development on purely Indian lines, for here there is no Indian tradition to guide us, and Indian artists who have taken up portraiture in the manner of the West are working in a medium and a style which is new to them. But, as I have said before, their mastery of their own technique is such as to inspire confidence among those who are best qualified to judge that they will display equal mastery in any new technique they feel impelled to adopt.

I am sure you are all eager to see the Exhibition, and I will not detain you longer, but you would wish me on your behalf as on my own to tell Sir John Thompson, Mr. Sen, and all the Committee who have worked so hard in connection with this Exhibition how grateful we are to them for what they have done. The success of this year's Exhibition will be a great encouragement to them, and we may anticipate that the Exhibition will continue to prosper and henceforth take a leading place as one of the principal annual events in Imperial Delhi. I have now much pleasure in declaring the Exhibition open.

OPENING OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT DELHI.

25th February
1930.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Ninth Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the 25th February and opened the Proceedings with the following Address :—

Your Highnesses,—I welcome Your Highnesses with

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

great pleasure to this the ninth Session of the Chamber of Princes. It is hardly necessary for me to refer to those preoccupations which have tended during the past months, and which will tend still more in the near future, to absorb our thoughts. They concern matters of great moment in the future of the States as part and partners of the Indian Empire. I have no doubt that Your Highnesses share with me the feeling that much of the work done during the past few years has been the prelude to even more important deliberations in which we must shortly engage. No one of us, I fancy, would be bold enough to claim that we could clearly foresee the future, but with prudence, courage, and joint consultation I see no cause to fear that we should fail to find a way through most of our present doubts and difficulties. It is in this spirit of reasoned optimism and hope that I assure Your Highnesses will approach the business of this Session.

When I met Your Highnesses here last year we were all oppressed with anxiety at the illness of our beloved King-Emperor, and Your Highnesses will recollect that our first business on that occasion was to refer to a telegram of sympathy which on your behalf the Standing Committee had sent to His Majesty, and for which Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress had subsequently expressed her grateful thanks. On this occasion I have to make another and more happy reference to His Majesty's recovery, and to the telegram of congratulation sent to His Majesty by the unanimous wish of Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee at their meeting on October the 24th last. The telegram was in the following terms :—

“ At the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes held on 24th October 1929 His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, Chancellor of the

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

Chamber, announced that it was the unanimous wish of Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee, at their first meeting after His Majesty the King-Emperor's recovery from a serious and protracted illness, that the sincere gratification of the Members of the Committee should be recorded, and that His Excellency the Viceroy should be asked to convey to His Majesty and to the Royal Family an expression of their devoted and loyal greetings upon the occasion."

To that telegram a reply was received from His Majesty as follows :—

" I have received with much pleasure and appreciation the message which you have conveyed to me from the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes. Please assure the Chancellor and Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee of my heartfelt thanks for their kind greetings on my recovery from a long and serious illness."

Since our last session the Chamber has lost by death His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur, His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar, His Highness the Raja of Lunawada and the Thakor Sahib of Rajkot. Succeeding to his inheritance in 1900 His late Highness of Bharatpur died before reaching the prime of manhood at the early age of 29. He had been in indifferent health for some time and his illness was a source of much anxiety to me. The attraction of His Highness' personality, as a Member of this Chamber and of Your Highnesses' Order, was well known to all of us, and his loss was felt acutely by his friends. His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar was one of the original Members who attended the inaugural session of the Chamber in February 1921. Born with a natural taste for literature and learning, His Highness was one of those who found particular pleasure in the simpler joys of life, and his death has deprived Your Highnesses' Order of one of

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

its most cultivated members. His Highness the Raja of Lunawada was unknown to many of us. Having been created a Knight Commander of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire so long ago as 1889, his death last year at the ripe age of 68 has left a great void in the State of which he had so long been Ruler. The Thakor Sahib of Rajkot whose sudden and untimely death at the age of 45 took place within the last month was a broad-minded and progressive Ruler, keenly interested in the social and economic advancement of all classes of his subjects, by whom he will be greatly missed. Your Highnesses will no doubt desire to associate yourselves in an expression of sympathy for the bereaved families of these four Members of your Order, and to extend wishes of happiness and prosperity to those succeeding them in the responsibilities connected with their respective States.

Shortly after I last met Your Highnesses in this house the Report of Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee was published and has been hitherto considered mainly in connection with the procedure to be followed for the most effective examination of its recommendations and proposals. It is too early yet to enlarge upon these, and indeed a minute and detailed consideration of them must await receipt of the Report of that other body, which has been concerned with the consideration of constitutional changes in British India. Meanwhile the views of Your Highnesses will be tentatively expressed during the present session in a series of Resolutions which are contained in a general item on the Agenda dealing specifically with the Report.

With respect to these Resolutions there is one in particular upon which I would like here to make certain general observations. There are few of Your Highnesses who would not agree with me in saying that the rare occasions upon which the British Government has been

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

obliged to intervene in the affairs of individual States during the past decade create a record in which all of us must feel some degree of pride. One cracked bell in a peal of bells can prejudice and often destroy the harmony of the whole. In these days of publicity the shortcomings of one unit in the body-politic almost inevitably have the effect of prejudicing the reputation of all the other units composing that body. The good repute of Your Highnesses' Order is a matter which I, no less than all my predecessors, have regarded as a peculiar trust. It has been the consistent endeavour of us, who have enjoyed the privilege of friendship with many of Your Highnesses' Order, to enhance the reputation of those States who occupy a distinguished position within the fabric of the Empire, and it is in pursuance of these sentiments that intervention has been resorted to in recent years in the few cases to which I have referred. To define the degree of discretion vested in the Viceroy in such delicate matters would be a matter of extreme difficulty. Intervention consists normally in an expression of views tending to relieve the effect of abuse of power. These views are generally expressed at a personal interview between the Ruler and either the Viceroy or his local representative, which in my experience is always of most friendly character. Speaking for myself I have to acknowledge the invariable readiness with which Rulers have listened to any advice I have felt it my duty as a friend to offer, and the generous thanks with which it has frequently been received. In its more important aspect intervention will be resorted to only in cases where, in the interests of Your Highnesses, of Your Highnesses' subjects, of India, and of the Empire as a whole, no other course seems possible. I feel confident that in the future the occasions upon which the Viceroy will be called upon to exercise his discretion with regard to intervention will gradually grow more

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

rare. It is the co-operation of the Rulers of States in the interests of good government and of their common good repute which have conduced in the past, and will conduce still more in the future, to this result.

It gives me great satisfaction that Your Highnesses have viewed favourably the proposal for the Round Table Conference made by Sir John Simon to His Majesty's Government, and accepted by them, which was referred to in my announcement of October 31st, 1929, and which is to form the subject of a Resolution by His Highness the Chancellor. As Your Highnesses are aware, it will be the duty of the Conference to consider the views and opinions of all who take part in it upon the future constitution of India. Among other material that may be before them to assist their deliberations will be the Report of Sir John Simon's Commission, publication of which may shortly be expected, and also that of Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee. As I had occasion to say two or three weeks ago it is too early yet to predict with certainty when the Conference will meet or how it will be composed. I hope that all important interests will there be heard and that from its discussions and mutual interchange of views the way will be paved for agreement between the States and British India in measures considered to be desirable for the further advance of India as a whole towards closer unity. I am assured, both from the conversations which I had with certain of Your Highnesses on the eve of my visit to England last summer and from the manner in which Your Highnesses received the statement that it was my duty to make on my return, that Your Highnesses share this hope. It is scarcely necessary to emphasise the fact that the importance of the Indian States in the body politic of the country demands that any decisions with which they might be concerned should receive from them a full measure of support.

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

Your Highnesses will recollect that at our Session of February 11th last year I referred to the Report of the Road Committee and to the possibilities which might emerge from it. I fear that anticipations which have been aroused in connection with this important subject have been in part disappointed by reason of the fact that it has not yet been found possible for my Government to adopt the Report and to proceed to carry out such proposals in it as may secure acceptance. In these circumstances there is little that I can add to my remarks of last year beyond assuring Your Highnesses that the subject is engaging the earnest attention of Government, and I trust that a settlement may be reached before long.

At the last Session of the Chamber I referred also to the question of the future of the Chief's Colleges, and informed Your Highnesses that my Government were expecting the views of the Governing Bodies of the Colleges and of the local authorities on the draft scheme prepared for their future governance. Those views have since been received, and I hope that before we next meet in this Chamber decisions will have been reached satisfactory to all concerned with this important subject. The good work resulting from the inauguration of the Chiefs' Colleges is a lasting tribute to the foresight of their founders and can scarcely be over-estimated. The need for such Colleges in the middle and latter years of the past century was great and urgent and they have worthily fulfilled their purpose. Nor could such fortunate results have been possible without the active and sustained assistance of the Princes and Chiefs. The Colleges have exercised an important influence in moulding the minds and characters of young Princes, of whom many of Your Highnesses are notable examples, and from the time of their foundation the co-operation of a large number of Princely houses with the governing

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

and teaching staffs has been one of the many happy aspects of the relationship existing between the Educational and Political Officers of Government and the great body of States with whom their activities have been so closely and happily allied. Thus I cannot help experiencing a certain feeling of regret—which I trust will soon be dispelled—that the Colleges appear to have suffered some decline in Your Highnesses' esteem, and it is my earnest hope that the phase is but a passing one and that your old regard for them will be revived in its former strength. It is a platitude to say that no human undertaking can be beyond the sphere or need of criticism, and criticism of a constructive nature is always valuable for the working of any corporate institutions—educational or other. Changing times bring changing requirements and it is my earnest wish to do everything possible to ensure the continued existence of the Colleges as a medium for giving a sound and useful education to those whom they were built to serve. We all alike should be concerned in striving to consolidate, and when necessary to improve, where others before us have laboured with such devotion and success.

In his closing speech at our Session of February 1929 His Highness the Chancellor drew my attention to the question of bringing those States whose political relations are at present conducted by Provincial Governments into direct relations with my Government, and, in the case of other States, simplifying their relations through a single intermediary. I have made a careful examination of the position and have come to the conclusion that, while future constitutional developments in the Government of India and in the Provinces may lead to the necessity for a re-examination of the position of those larger States whose relations with the Government of India are still conducted through Provincial Governments, further changes are not practicable at the present moment.

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

The question of Your Highnesses' co-operation in measures of humanitarian endeavour, which the Government of India has by virtue of its Membership of the League of Nations pledged itself to pursue, has previously found expression in this House, notably during the meetings of November 1926 and February 1928. On both these occasions His Highness the Chancellor assured me of your effective assistance. It is therefore gratifying to me to observe that those assurances have during the past year been translated into practice, in connection with the obligations undertaken by the Government of India under the International Convention of 1921 for the suppression of the traffic in women and children. A large number of States have expressed readiness to co-operate and to undertake the necessary legislation to make co-operation effective. I congratulate Your Highnesses on this evidence of a desire to join with those who are working together throughout the world in the cause of social progress and eradication of vice.

There is a matter of some importance engaging the attention of the Government of India which I would like to mention briefly to Your Highnesses. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research recently appointed a Committee for the purpose of formulating co-ordinated measures to deal with the problem of locusts which have been taking serious toll of crops in certain areas. The Committee has issued an interim report in which they have declared that locusts are now breeding in Northern India, and that, unless adequate measures of control are taken within the next six weeks, there is grave danger of further damage, especially in Western and Northern India. The Committee have suggested that the co-operation of the Indian States within their territories with regard to measures for dealing with this serious menace would be of great value, and Political Officers are being directed to ask those of Your Highnesses concerned

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

to render such assistance as may be possible in fighting the plague. I am confident that the request will not be made in vain, and I need hardly say that your active co-operation in these important measures will be much appreciated by my Government.

Another matter that I would wish to mention relates to the assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for irrigation, navigation, embankment and drainage Works, and works connected with, or subsidiary to, them. The question has been under discussion since 1925, and a summary approved by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes was accepted by Your Highnesses at your Session of February 1928. Since then it has been considered necessary, as a result of consultation with Local Governments, Political Officers and Durbars, to modify the summary in two respects. In the first place, clause IV of the summary provided for the appointment, in the first instance, of Political Officers as arbiters—if both parties signified in writing their consent to such a course—in cases in which there might be a difference of opinion between the State authorities and the Local Government concerned as to the compensation payable. It was thought, however, that this arrangement might put States in the invidious position of appearing to lack confidence in the arbiters, and it was accordingly proposed to amend clauses IV and V of the summary so as to provide for the appointment of a Board of Arbitration in all such cases. In the second place, it was proposed to include a provision in clause VI of the summary to the effect that, in cases where rates of royalty for quarrying stone or excavating material are levied in British India, arbitration will be resorted to in the manner provided in clause IV, in the event of agreement as to the rates payable not being reached.

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

These modifications were recently discussed with the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes and have received their concurrence. It now only remains for the Government of India to issue a Resolution on the subject, and this will in due course be done.

In December last the Indian Historical Records Commission held a Session at Gwalior to which certain other States sent representatives as co-opted members. The interest thus evinced in India's history by the descendants of those who have in the past played an important part in its making is of the utmost value. There is still much room for historical research, and I believe I am right in saying that the Archives of many States contain a wealth of documents of historical interest which still remain to be explored. No nation can afford to ignore the story of its past. No people can properly develop without knowledge of the factors which have gone to make them what they are. The great men of India have been primarily soldiers, law-givers, philosophers, and men whose saintly lives have won them a place of honour in the regard of their compatriots. Indigenous literature and the arts which have hitherto reached their highest levels under the stimulus of Kingly and Princely patronage have in more recent times received less attention than formerly under pressure of those influences which are continually operating in the progress of civilisation. This is now being recognised and patrons of the arts are more numerous than before. There can be few better ways in which Indian Princes and the leaders of Indian society and opinion can contribute to her future than by cultivating and assisting the arts of peace, which constitute so formative an influence upon national character.

Your Highnesses will recollect having moved a Resolution in the Chamber of Princes on the 24th

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

February 1928, recommending that for the purposes of section 75 of the Indian Penal Code, previous convictions by Courts of Indian States should be recognised by the Government of India, and *vice versa*.

As the question involved matters of administrative importance, which concerned various Local Governments and Political Officers, I was unable at that stage to say more than that the matter would be considered with every desire to meet the wish expressed by Your Highnesses in the Resolution. I regret that the result of examination of the proposal is that the more important Governments are opposed to it, while others do not view it wholly with favour. The Courts have already a wide discretion in the infliction of sentences, and few practical inconveniences are apparent in the present condition of the law. It seems, therefore, that no useful purpose will be served by further pursuit of the question, and I accordingly anticipate that Your Highnesses may be willing to let the proposal stand in abeyance.

As is customary at our meetings, among the subjects to be considered by Your Highnesses is that dealing with the work of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala as a Representative of India at the Meeting of the League of Nations last year at Geneva. The Report which His Highness will read to us will be no less interesting than have been those presented by His Highness himself on two previous occasions and by other members of your Order who have there represented India. We owe a debt of gratitude to His Highness for having undertaken for the third time this weighty task and I can assure him that we shall all follow with interest what he will have to tell us.

Two resolutions upon the Agenda, one by His Highness the Chancellor and one by His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla, are concerned with the election of the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor and with the amendment

Opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi.

of Rule 3 of the Rules of Business concerning the proposal of subjects for inclusion in the Agenda. As I have mentioned before in this House, I deprecate alterations in the constitution and Rules of Business except when necessity has been clearly shown, but I think both these proposals are deserving of Your Highnesses' careful consideration.

The Resolution regarding dealings between Indian States and Capitalists and Financial Agents has already been before the Legislative Assembly and received in a slightly different form Your Highnesses' approval. As a result of further consideration it is now formally to be placed before you, and I may have further remarks to make upon this subject when that stage is reached.

Before the Session ends Your Highnesses will proceed to elect the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor and the Standing Committee for the ensuing year and I desire to acknowledge, as also, I am sure, will Your Highnesses, the hard work performed by His Highness the Chancellor and by the Members of the present Standing Committee during the period of their activities. We have been occupied with many difficult and important questions, the counsel which I have received from those whom you have chosen to represent you has been of the greatest assistance to me, and I know that I have only to ask for the help of your chosen representatives in order to obtain it in full measure.

I must now bring my remarks introducing this Session to a close. I would do so by again giving expression to my continued sympathy and interest in Your Highnesses' deliberations and to my assured confidence that the result of them will be to forward the welfare of Your Highnesses' subjects, and those of that greater entity of India in which they occupy such an important place.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE RED CROSS BUILDING, NEW DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy laid the foundation stone of the Red Cross Building in New Delhi on the 27th February and delivered the following speech on that occasion :—

27th Febru-
ary 1930.

Your Highness, Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are all greatly indebted to Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith for the interesting account he has given us of the foundation and development of the Indian Red Cross Society and of its admission to membership of the League of Red Cross Societies, a league which embraces 50 nations of the world and has today more than 20 million members on its roll. It is well, on an occasion like this, that we should be reminded of the greatness of the organisation of which we in India form a part, and of the objects and ideals which it sets before itself. And, as a step towards the achievement of those objects and towards the fulfilment of India's obligations as a signatory to the Covenant of the League of Nations, the construction of a Central Red Cross building in the new Capital of India is an event of no small significance. Not only will the requirements of the Society itself be adequately met, but the building which is to rise on this site will accommodate the Headquarters of other kindred associations, and will thus be of great service in co-ordinating philanthropic endeavour. Such co-ordination is the best guarantee against wastage of effort, and its importance has been recognised in many countries. I believe that in Carnegie House in London as many as 17 societies and associations have been gathered together, and a kind of clearing house has thus been established which has been found to be of the greatest mutual benefit to all. The establishment of a building for the Central Headquarters of the Red Cross, St. John's Ambulance, the Chelmsford League and kindred associations will, I trust, prove to be of equal value to India. Provincial Branches of the Red Cross have, as you know,

*Laying of the Foundation stone of the Red Cross Building,
New Delhi.*

been given a free hand in, and financial help towards, their own development as best suits their local conditions, and it is gratifying to hear how well many of them have utilised and are utilising their opportunity. But the need of establishing the closest relations not only between the Red Cross and sister Societies but also on the one hand between the various parts of India and on the other between India and the other countries of the world requires no emphasis. The Red Cross is, in the truest sense, a national and an international Society.

You may well congratulate yourselves on obtaining this excellent site. New Delhi is already rich in buildings in which the life of India is centred, and it is fitting that the capital should provide a worthy home for an organisation whose beneficent activities radiate into every corner of India and bring health and physical betterment to so many of its people. When the question of providing suitable quarters first arose, finance seemed likely to be a serious difficulty. Fortunately a fairy prince arrived upon the scene and by a wave of his pen altered the situation. Thanks to the princely generosity of His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh, whom we are glad to see among us this afternoon, it has been possible to proceed forthwith with the scheme, and plans for a handsome building, worthy of the Society and of the purposes it sets before itself, have been prepared. I know that all those who are here today or who take an interest in Red Cross work will echo the gratitude which I would now wish to express to His Highness not only for his generosity in providing this building but for the openhanded and practical support which, as we have heard, he has always given to the Society both within and outside his State. I am confident that his latest gift will mark a distinct stage in the development of philanthropic work for the benefit of the people of India.

Address from the Ajmer Municipal Committee.

Your Chairman has reminded us that we are within a month of the completion of the first decade of the life of the Indian Red Cross Society. These ten years have been years of pioneer work and have seen great changes and a great advance. Ten years ago Child Welfare Centres, schemes for villages uplift and Social Service Leagues, which are now household words, were hardly known. Now there are few of the larger centres in India where activities of this kind are not in being, and it is a source of great gratification to know that Indians are coming forward in increasing numbers to play their part in these endeavours. The seed that has been sown is bearing fruit and, with willing labourers in the field, gives promise of a rich harvest. But the need of helpers grows with the progress of our task, and I appeal again, as I have appealed before, for the assistance of those who are ready to give of their time and labour in this great cause. I feel little doubt that such a call will derive greater strength and meaning from the building whose inauguration we are celebrating today and whose foundation stone I will now, with your permission, proceed to lay.

ADDRESS FROM THE AJMER MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

In replying to the Address presented by the Ajmer Municipal Committee on 7th March, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

7th March
1930.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin and I are deeply grateful to you for the kind way in which you have welcomed us to Ajmer this morning. It is a very great pleasure to us to be able to realise a desire we have long felt to visit a city which holds so unique a place among the cities of India both for the historical and religious associations, to which you have alluded, and for the natural beauty of its surroundings. Were there

Address from the Ajmer Municipal Committee.

nothing else of interest or beauty, the panorama of hills and lake, which stretches before us here and provides so magnificent a setting for its marble pavilions, would alone amply repay a visitor to Ajmer.

The citizens of a town so richly endowed by Nature and so renowned in History must feel that they can spare no effort to make it worthy of its environment and of its past. I am glad to know that you are conscious of the responsibility that rests on you in your representative capacity as Members of the Municipal Committee and that you are making a real effort to solve the problems that confront you, the most urgent of which are those relating to sanitation and water-supply. The prosperity of your town and the health of the present and future generations of its citizens must depend in a very large measure on the success which attends your efforts. I know that you have difficulties to overcome and that your progress in giving effect to the schemes you have worked out is largely a question of finance. I am not in a position to say at this moment to what extent my Government will be able to assist you, but I can assure you that they will view with sympathy any effort you may make to develop your resources and to provide the funds needed for your projects, and will give every consideration to your needs in carrying your proposals into effect.

To you as Members of the Ajmer Municipal Committee is entrusted the task of administering the affairs of a large and important city. It is a privilege of which you may well be proud and at the same time a duty which calls for earnest and anxious endeavour. I realise that your path is not always easy and that criticism does not always make sufficient allowance for your difficulties or accord the credit due to those who devote their time to public service. At the same time, efficiency of municipal administration will at all times depend largely on the spirit of impartial co-operation displayed

Address to Istimrardars of Ajmer.

by those set in authority, and I would therefore hope that in the performance of your task you will ever work together harmoniously and with single purpose for the public welfare, unhampered by distinctions of caste and creed and remembering only that you are fellow-citizens of a great city and the chosen custodians of its interests. Thus will you prove yourselves worthy of the trust reposed in you and deserve the gratitude of the people of Ajmer.

In the task before you, you have my sincere good wishes for your success. It is my earnest hope that under your guidance the people of this city may enjoy increasing prosperity and happiness.

ADDRESS TO ISTIMRARDARS OF AJMER.

While at Ajmer His Excellency the Viceroy met the Istimrardars, whom he addressed in the following terms :— 7th March 1930.

[N. B.—This address was not published.]

Istimrardars of Ajmer,—I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting you in the headquarters of the district of which your estates form so large and important a part.

The position which you enjoy is one of which you may well be proud, and the Government of India have in the past given ample evidence of their appreciation of your loyalty and their desire to maintain unimpaired your dignity and your cherished privileges. Since the last occasion on which an Istimrardars' Durbar was held—when Lord Chelmsford visited Ajmer in 1916—a further proof of Government's solicitude for your interests has been furnished by the decision to abolish the levy of nazrana on successions in Istimrari estates.

I am confident that, as you rely on Government to respect your privileges, so you on your side recognise that you have obligations which it is your bounden duty to discharge. Proud, and rightly proud, as you are of

Address to Istimrardars of Ajmer.

your ancient lineage and history, you cannot afford to disregard the changing conditions of the modern world. As leading land-owners and as the chief representatives of the agricultural interests of this district, your place is in the forefront of progress. Many of you have had the benefit of an education at the Mayo College, which is now celebrating its Jubilee. Some of you are being educated there now. The motto of the College reminds us, if reminder is needed, that the spread of enlightenment is the mission to which its sons are pledged.

As members of the District Board, you can, if you are active and not merely nominal members, do much for the general welfare of the district. And in your own estates especially you have wide opportunities for promoting the benefit of your tenants. Their interests are your interests, and their prosperity will be reflected in the prosperity of your estates. I am told that in some of the Istimrari estates the harmonious relations that should exist between tenants and landlords have from time to time been marred by a recurrence of disputes to the disadvantage of both. Discontent among tenants is engendered by insecurity of tenure and by uncertainty of rights and obligations. In some cases tenants have resented demands which they regard as exactions and for which the Istimrardar has claimed the sanction of ancient custom. Customs are not immutable. We live in days of progress and reform, and where ancient customs are not in consonance with modern ideals and conditions they can and should be modified.

Some of you have already shown a desire to introduce changes which benefit their cultivators. Others will, I am confident, follow their example, remembering that a prosperous and contented tenantry is the only sure foundation on which they can build up the lasting fortunes of their own estates.

Prize-giving at the Mayo College, and Address from the Old Boys' Association of the Mayo College, Ajmer.

In solving the problem of adjusting the traditions of the past to the requirements of the present you can rely on the readiness of the Chief Commissioner and the district officers to give you their advice and assistance, and I for my part can assure you of the constant interest I take, and shall continue to take, in the welfare of your estates and of the people of this district.

PRIZE-GIVING AT THE MAYO COLLEGE, AND ADDRESS
FROM THE OLD BOYS' ASSOCIATION OF THE MAYO
COLLEGE, AJMER.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Prize-giving at the Mayo College and in reply to the Address presented by the Old Boys' Association of the Mayo College at Ajmer on the 7th March :—

7th March
1930.

Your Highnesses, Mr. Madden, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to begin by thanking you most warmly for the cordial welcome you have extended to Lady Irwin and myself, and for the privilege you have allowed me of presiding over such a distinguished gathering on this memorable occasion. It marks perhaps the most important event in the history of the College since Lord Mayo in 1870 first propounded to the Ruling Princes assembled in Durbar at Ajmer the idea of establishing an institution, where their sons and those of their nobles could receive an education suited to their high position and responsibilities. This idea materialised a few years later in the construction of these beautiful buildings and the foundation of this College, now so well known as the Mayo College. As you, Mr. Principal, have reminded us no Viceroy since the College was opened has failed to attend one of your annual prize-givings. That, I think, is sufficient proof of the interest and concern which the Viceroy naturally takes in the prosperity and welfare of the Chiefs' Colleges and in the

Prize-giving at the Mayo College, and Address from the Old Boys' Association of the Mayo College, Ajmer.

training of the future Rulers and nobles of the Indian States, with whom he is in specially intimate and personal relations. I therefore deem myself peculiarly fortunate that it should have fallen to my lot to be present at these Jubilee celebrations, which have added greatly to the pleasure of memories I shall always retain. I wish that the many preoccupations of a Viceroy did not prevent me from paying more frequent visits and so seeing for myself more of what the boys are doing here and what is being done for them. For I feel that it would only be by obtaining at first-hand a knowledge of school-life here and its surroundings that a Viceroy could wholly expect to discharge the responsibility which lies upon him in connection with the future of the Chiefs' Colleges.

My anxiety in their behalf is deepened because I am conscious that in some quarters there is a tendency to disparage their work, and even to suggest their abolition, on the ground that they have failed to achieve the purpose for which they were created. I am tempted therefore to look back and briefly to examine the position as it was in 1903 when the reorganisation took place to which you, Mr. Principal, have alluded.

I believe that at that time a spirit of indifference and even of hostility to the Colleges was not uncommon, and was due mainly, perhaps, to three causes, to the traditional conservatism of the States, to a belief that the education given at the Colleges was too costly, and, thirdly, a feeling of dissatisfaction with the class and quality of the education which the Colleges provided.

Energetic measures were taken to remove such defects as were found to exist. The constitution of the College was modified so as to associate the Ruling Princes more closely with its management. The staff was

Prize-giving at the Mayo College, and Address from the Old Boys' Association of the Mayo College, Ajmer.

materially strengthened, and the curriculum was revised with the object of securing a more practical education suited to the rôle which the pupils of the College were expected to play in after-life. The Government of India substantially increased their financial assistance, while the Princes themselves made generous grants to the College endowment fund and valuable additions to the College buildings. Over a quarter of a century has elapsed since these far-reaching reforms were introduced. Let us glance at the results, and ask ourselves whether in view of our experience since then the College has been a success or a failure. If by failure its critics mean that it has fallen short of its ideal, I am not concerned to contradict them. For I doubt whether there is any school in this or indeed in any country which could claim fully to have realised the object which it had set out to achieve. As a tree is judged by the general character of the fruit which it produces and not by selected specimens whether good or bad, so must it be with an Educational Institution, and this test may be fairly applied to the Mayo College. Isolated instances of failure, scholastic or otherwise, should not be allowed to warp our judgment on the main question. Rather let us see whether the College is justified by the character and conduct in after-life of the pupils as a whole, and let us remember that the raw material on which the College works is of various quality, and that home influence must always be a factor of great importance, in the field both of study and discipline. It is therefore most encouraging that you, Mr. Principal, should be able to claim that few schools can point to so many pupils who have achieved distinction in later life. I confess when I look round this hall and see the number of distinguished old boys present here this afternoon, who owe to this place their early training and education, I

Prize-giving at the Mayo College, and Address from the Old Boys' Association of the Mayo College, Ajmer.

find proof not of failure but of a large measure of success. The youth of no less than twelve, I believe, of the present Ruling Princes of Rajputana was spent within these grounds. Those who were at the College in the earlier days of its existence will not require me to remind them how much they owe to Colonel Loch, who filled the responsible post of Principal for many years ; others in later times will remember with gratitude the kindly interest and care with which Mr. Waddington and Mr. Leslie Jones supervised their early training.

The devoted work which your present Principal, Mr. Madden, has given to the College, is well known to you all, and I need not recount it here today. But I am glad to say that, in recognition of his services and in token of the deep interest which His Majesty the King-Emperor takes in the Chiefs' Colleges, I have been authorised today to announce that His Majesty has been pleased to confer on Mr. Madden the honour of a Companionship of the Order of the Indian Empire.

Looking then to the history of the past 25 years I think it can be asserted with justice and with pride that, though there may have been tares among the wheat, the harvest on the whole has been good. With such a record I was disquieted to learn that the College does not inspire the confidence which it should, and that there are misgivings as to the future. As in 1903 so in 1930 some complain that the education is too costly, others desire that the curriculum should be modified so as to correspond more nearly to that prescribed for secondary schools and colleges, others again consider that the time has come to make the College less exclusive. Time will not permit me to deal as I should like with all these criticisms. I am not convinced that the cost of education at the Mayo College, which is already far below that of the average public school in England, is beyond the means of those

Prize-giving at the Mayo College, and Address from the Old Boys' Association of the Mayo College, Ajmer.

for whom it is intended. Further economy could not but have a disastrous effect on the efficiency and character of the Colleges. Nor am I in sympathy with those who desire to change the traditional character of these institutions and to convert them into secondary schools of the ordinary type. Success in the examination room has its value, but it is not and should never be the sole or indeed the main aim to which those responsible for the Chiefs' Colleges ought to direct their attention. It has not been in the past, and I hope will not be in the future, the object of the curriculum by a mechanical routine to produce a standard type, but rather to develop the general qualities that go to make up personality and to offer a sound general education on which, if necessary, a more specialised course of study suited to the career which the pupil may choose in after-life can be based. I would ask those who desire to change the special character of these Colleges to pause and look around them. In many parts of the world today we see widespread agitation and unrest due to men having cut themselves adrift from their old moorings of religion, custom and tradition, and few thinking persons would deny the dangers to which this process has exposed society. The foundation of the social fabric of most of the States and especially of Rajputana is still predominantly traditional and conservative, though old customs and old beliefs are slowly broadening to suit the changing conditions of the times. It is necessary therefore to proceed with caution and to hesitate before adopting measures likely to spell too rapid a subversion of ancient faith and custom, which would imperil much of good along with those elements we may desire to see reformed. The landed aristocracy has still as important and useful a part as ever to play in the body-politic, and in future the position of the Ruling Princes will be the stronger if it is associated with an aristocracy endowed

Prize-giving at the Mayo College, and Address from the Old Boys' Association of the Mayo College, Ajmer.

with solid moral character, intellectually alert, capable of realising the duties and responsibilities of their privileged position, and determined to use it not for selfish ends but to promote the enlightenment and happiness of all their fellow-creatures. If such is their goal, the Colleges are travelling on no purposeless errand and deserve the confidence and support of the Ruling Princes. I earnestly hope therefore that it will be the determination of all Ruling Princes not to imperil the future of the Colleges by apathy and indifference, but to ensure their success, both by manifesting a personal interest in their concerns and by providing such funds as may be necessary to maintain them at a high standard of efficiency. On no point would I lay more stress than on the supreme necessity for obtaining for these Colleges masters of high qualifications and of the right stamp, men who without fear for the future and animated by high ideals will be ready to devote whole-heartedly their time and their ability to the College service. Assured of such a staff and relying on the continued support and sympathy of the Princes, I have no misgiving that the Colleges will not be able to face the future with confidence and equanimity.

You here can, as you know, at all times safely rely on the goodwill and wise counsel of the Agent to the Governor-General, Mr. Reynolds, in all matters such as this that affect the present or future welfare of Rajputana.

I should like here to thank the Old Boys most warmly for the kindly allusions to Lady Irwin and myself which they have made in their address and for the very handsome casket in which it is contained. I appreciate their desire to maintain the Higher Diploma Course and to extend its duration so as to receive for it recognition of the Universities, but I understand that the solution of the problem as of so many others depends on

Prize-giving at the Mayo College, and Address from the Old Boys' Association of the Mayo College, Ajmer.

funds. The requests which they have made will, I can assure them, receive sympathetic consideration by my Government in the scheme for the reorganisation of the Colleges, which is now under consideration. My anxiety for the future of this institution is lessened when I see the keen interest taken in it by the Old Boys and their loyalty to its traditions. No College can have a more precious asset than this or a more eloquent testimony to the value of the education they have received.

And now a word to the pupils of the College. First of all I must congratulate most heartily all those who have won prizes in this year of Jubilee, and I feel that a special word of praise is due to Maharaj Kumar Bhim Singh of Kotah for his success in the Higher Diploma Examination. It is indeed a fitting reward for the anxious solicitude with which my friend His Highness the Maharao of Kotah has watched over his education. I notice that speaking in this hall in 1902 Lord Curzon referred to His Highness as one of the best of the College's pupils. It is a happy coincidence that 28 years later I should be able to refer to the Maharaj Kumar in terms of similar praise.

I have to congratulate also another Kotah boy, Apji Randhir Singh of Koila, and the Chief of Patna, both of whom are, I am glad to say, present here this afternoon.

I share your regret, Mr. Principal, that I am unable to congratulate personally His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur on winning the Viceroy's medal for the best all-round athlete. We shall all I know watch with interest the future of a career so full of promise.

It is customary for speakers at prize-givings to include in their remarks some words of consolation to those who have not won prizes, and my concluding words to you

Banquet at the Mayo College, Ajmer.

will be that I hope every boy here today, whether in the rest of his time at Mayo College or in his life after he leaves, will prove to the satisfaction of even the most obstinate examiner that at least he ought to have been given a prize on this occasion. What you learn here will show itself in many ways besides proficiency in learning or in games. It will show itself in manners, in truthfulness and courage in standing up for what you believe to be right, in good sportsmanship, in chivalry towards those who are weaker than yourselves, and I hope that in everything you do you will remember that the good name of the College is in your keeping and depends upon what you are, so that you may ever give it cause to be as proud of you as I hope you yourselves will always be proud of the Mayo College.

BANQUET AT THE MAYO COLLEGE, AJMER.

8th March
1930.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Banquet at the Mayo College, Ajmer, on 8th March :—

Your Highness and Mr. Vice-President,—I thank you most warmly for the cordial welcome you have accorded to Lady Irwin and myself this evening. It was a happy inspiration which prompted our hosts to entertain us in this stately hall, for it is here that the traditions of the College are enshrined and here have taken place all memorable ceremonies in its history. For the old boys of Mayo College, many of whom I am glad to see around me, this hall must be rich with memories ; for those now at the College, it must be pregnant with hopes and aspirations for the future.

Those who are interested in education have long recognised the influence of beautiful surroundings and beautiful buildings in forming the impressions of early life, and it was therefore with keen interest that I looked forward to my visit to Ajmer, and to seeing the spot

Banquet at the Mayo College, Ajmer.

which had been chosen for the location of the Mayo College. I need hardly say that I have not been disappointed. The scene which greeted me on arrival at the Residency yesterday morning surpassed my liveliest expectation. Below me lay the placid expanse of the Ana Sagar lake guarded by its encircling hills. Above me rose the frowning massif of Taragarh, the crumbling walls of its ancient fort lit up by the rays of the morning sun. My eye wandered over the city spread like a mosaic on the slopes beneath, until in the far distance it rested on the tower of the central building of this College nestling under the shelter of the Madar Hill. Surely no College could have a finer setting or one more calculated to stimulate the intellect or fire the imagination.

But beautiful surroundings alone cannot ensure success. If there is truth in the old saying that "men not walls make a city" it is equally true that it is not by buildings but by the boys and specially by the old boys that a college lives and must be judged. I am very glad to have had the opportunity during the last two days of seeing something of the boys at present at the College. Two days is a short time in which to form a judgment, but I could not fail to be impressed by their tone and discipline and by their excellent manners. The latter quality is, as the Principal reminded me yesterday, one on which the College specially prides itself and it is indeed one in which no Rajput is likely to be found lacking.

I shall be forgiven, I know, if I decline to attempt to pronounce judgment on the Old Boys. I feel that here I am perhaps on surer but on more delicate ground and I must spare the blushes of the many eminent Old Boys who are assembled here this evening. But this, at any rate, I can say with safety that there are many here

Banquet at the Mayo College, Ajmer.

to-night, who are proud of their College and of whom the College is rightly proud. There are many here too, who regard the College with affection and who are sensible of the debt they owe to it and to the staff for the success that has been theirs in later life.

In my two days' experience of Mayo College I have been able, I think, to trace at any rate part of the explanation of some of the qualities which I have learnt to admire in the many Princes whom I am privileged to number among my friends—their culture and linguistic facility, their skill in games and their good sportsmanship, and—last but not least, having presided over their deliberations for a whole week—their powers of oratory. I think it is not too much to say that some of the battles on the floor of the Chamber of Princes were won in the class-rooms of the Mayo College.

The number of Old Boys who have gathered for these celebrations bears testimony to the feeling of *esprit de corps* which the College inspires. From Maharaj Fateh Singh of Jodhpur who joined the College in 1876 to those who only left last term, there is hardly a year of the College history which has not its representative. I could quote many instances of family faith in the efficiency of the College, but I will content myself with one. Raj Bijai Singh of Kunadi in the Kotah State joined the College in 1881 and since then six of his sons and six grandsons have been educated at the College ending with Bhanwar Gulab Singh in 1929. So long as this spirit prevails I share the optimism of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur and with him I believe that the College will, in the future as it has done in the past, shed light in dark places and send forth its sons fitted to play with honour and distinction the part that their station in life expects of them.

It will give great pleasure to all who have the interests of the College at heart to learn that, to celebrate

Convocation of the Delhi University.

its Jubilee, His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has presented a scholarship of £300 a year for 3 years for study in England. The holder will be selected by the Principal from among those boys who have passed the Diploma or Higher Diploma Examination. I should like to express on my own behalf as on that of very many others our real gratitude to His Highness for his generosity.

Before I sit down I must again thank all the Old Boys for the kindly feeling which prompted them to entertain Her Excellency and myself this afternoon and you, members of the College Council, for your very generous hospitality to us this evening.

It has been a great pleasure to us both to be privileged to take part in these Jubilee celebrations, and we shall always wish the Mayo College and its inmates well.

CONVOCATION OF THE DELHI UNIVERSITY.

The following address was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Convocation of the Delhi University on 21st March 1930.

Gentlemen,—It has given me great pleasure to attend once more the Convocation of Delhi University. Apart from the opportunity that it affords of associating myself with what is perhaps the most important function of the University's Academic year, it has permitted me to be one of the audience privileged this afternoon to listen to our Vice-Chancellor's thoughtful and inspiring address. In the course of it he mentioned the critical stage at which the University of Delhi now finds itself, and I would take this opportunity of explaining briefly the position of Government in the matter. The Committee, which was appointed to enquire into certain questions affecting the future of the University and its constituent colleges, suggested an investigation into the

Convocation of the Delhi University.

financial resources of the Degree Colleges of the University. This investigation has just been completed and the question is now being examined by my Government. I have every hope that they will shortly be in a position to formulate their conclusions, and that these will assist the University and its Colleges to adopt a definite programme of development. The measure of support which Government can give to the furthering of that development must of course, as you will realise, be determined by financial considerations and by the relative claims of other projects.

Prior to the establishment of the University of Delhi, the Colleges in this city were associated with the University of the Punjab—a University of the affiliating type—whereas the ideal of those who founded this University was a University of the teaching and residential type. It has naturally taken time for the Colleges in Delhi to readjust their outlook from that of separate units, situated hundreds of miles from the centre of the University with which they were associated and therefore possessing a very large measure of independence, to that of constituent Colleges, themselves forming a University which without their co-operation and active help could not exist. It is upon the correct balancing of the ideals of the Colleges with those of the University, and upon the satisfactory adjustment of the relations not only between the Colleges and the University but between the Colleges themselves, that the success of higher education in this Province will depend, and it is much to be hoped that a decision as to the permanent location of the University, which should not now be long delayed, will make readjustment easier.

Your Vice-Chancellor quoted a passage from an address delivered by Lord Reading on an occasion similar to the present. Some of you may remember that

Convocation of the Delhi University.

Lord Reading went on in that address to emphasise the part which the citizens of Delhi themselves can play, by financial help and otherwise, in assisting in the development of the University. With him I believe that few more worthy objects for their philanthropy can be found, and I am happy to be able today to announce a generous benefaction from one who, though not a citizen of Delhi, is a resident here for two or three very busy months each year. Mr. Kikabhai Premchand has just handed over to the University all the allowances he has received as a Member of the Assembly and of the Indian Central Committee, amounting to Rs. 22,000, to be devoted to the establishment of a part-time Readership in Economics. To benefactors such as Mr. Kikabhai Premchand Universities and culture in all lands and in all ages have owed an inestimable debt. I know that you would wish to join me in expressing to him our cordial thanks for this spontaneous gift, and I trust that his generosity may inspire others to follow his example.

The Vice-Chancellor has touched on other important matters this afternoon. His analysis of the present position of affairs and his counsel for the future have been sanely and clearly put to us and reserve the deep consideration of all who have the interests of the people of India at heart. To the youth of India he has given sound advice, which I am sure, in this hall at any rate, has fallen on receptive ears.

It is one of the penalties of youth—as you may suppose—to be given sound advice, and it is perhaps—some of you may also say—one of their privileges to disregard it. But youth will have its turn, and I meanwhile offer no excuse for venturing to add my quota of advice to the Vice-Chancellor's address, though on different, and I fear less profound, lines than his.

Convocation of the Delhi University.

I suppose that, whenever one, who has himself had the privilege of going through a University course, is again brought into passing contact with University life, he naturally looks back to what for many University men will always remain the happiest time of their lives. Our recollections will vary according to temperament or to the difference in character of our Universities, or in our teachers or in the accidents of our environment. We all have our regrets, our tale of opportunities lost. If we had our time over again, we might have done more with it. But in these very regrets lies much of our affection for our old University, and herein perhaps to a great extent lies the secret of the hold it retains on our minds in after years. But, if there are some things that we cannot recapture, let us be thankful that much remains. Many unforgettable things survive—some small successes here or there, friendships which have ripened with the years, some growing perception of the dignity of true learning and the many-sidedness of truth, teaching a larger tolerance of other men's views, and last, but surely not least, the introduction to the companionship of great thinkers and great writers through our teachers or through books.

This last, the joy of good books and the pleasure of reading, dates for many of us from our University days. Our early taste was no doubt crude and immature. Our canons of criticism were unformed. But if we were fortunate we felt the influence, whether of tutors or of our own contemporaries, which trained our raw judgment and gave us our first taste of those things on which the mind may browse and rest content. And, if to some University student reading may sometimes still conjure up the beckoning ghost of an examiner, let him comfort himself with the thought that many things which begin as a task end by being pure pleasure and

Convocation of the Delhi University.

recreation. For a few minutes then this afternoon I would invite you to think with me of books ; of what they are and what they can be ; and of the place that if we are wise we may seek to give them in our general scheme of life. For such illustration as I may need, however much I deplore my inability to quote from your own Indian literature, I am perforce compelled to depend upon English writers. But the conclusions that emerge are not governed by language, and are of general application.

Let us begin by the elementary enquiry of why we desire to read, and ask what are the advantages that we derive from reading. I do not here speak of the more laborious kind of reading which we all know too well, and which in the case of the young, I suppose, at times involves reading rather uninspiring text books, and in my own consists in reading through even less inspiring official files. It may be that for us both the principal value of such study is that of a moral discipline, of training our mind to work with resolution and perseverance upon subjects that make no powerful appeal to our feelings at the particular moment when our task has to be performed. And it is perhaps the more necessary for those, who are constrained to devote a good deal of their time to this kind of reading, to seek refreshment when they may by recourse to reading of more general character. Such wider reading is the means by which we may at once increase our knowledge and, even more important, supply an often much needed stimulus to a torpid imagination. We are able at any moment to take our place upon the magic carpet and fly where fancy wills, acquiring new experience, hearing and seeing new things, so that, as our reading leads us through fields hitherto unexplored, we find that our vision widens, and all the things of life assume for us new meaning and

Convocation of the Delhi University.

significance. It is through books and through reading them that we are able to give satisfaction to one of the most instinctive impulses of human nature. Man naturally craves for companionship, and society largely reposes upon this human quality. Companionship is essential to the free development of our personality, and we are thus naturally led to the attempt to make contact with other minds, and with minds greater than our own. Books are the ready avenue to this haven of our desire. Indeed it might truly be said that as religion satisfies the yearning of man's heart to make approach to the Divine, so in the lower sphere reading is one of the ways by which we can most easily place ourselves in fellowship with those of our kind who from the vantage-point they have reached can see further than ourselves. "A good book", wrote Milton, "is the precious life blood of a master spirit embalmed, and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life". We do well therefore as often as we can to enrich the quality of our own thought by allowing to flow into it the higher thought of men who have in their generation been the interpreters of the deeper things of human feeling.

For many people this presentment in form of their own inarticulate emotions is the great charm of all writing whether poetry or prose. How often are we not brought up sharp, as we read, by a passage or a line—"a jewel five words long"—in which we are almost startled to see, crystallised in language some dumb sensation of our own, which we had never succeeded in bringing to such precise definition. In sheer joy how we read and re-read, until we know by heart the lines that so wonderfully as it seems reflect or bring to light something of our very selves, of which we had scarcely been aware. For those to whom music speaks clearly the sensation obtained through hearing must be analogous to that which I have described. And, even if we are

Convocation of the Delhi University.

not musical, there is much for us all to gain and enjoy from observance of language and style. We had not perhaps been accustomed to pay much heed to this sort of thing, until one day as we read our ear was caught by the rhythm and sound of words ; we suddenly detected a design for which we were not prepared, and, once we had the clue, we saw how the author chose language, now majestic, deliberate, restrained and calm, now rapid, impetuous, rushing like a mountain stream in spate, according to his subject and the effect he was seeking to create.

As the years pass, much of the pleasure of our reading will lie in association ; we meet our old friends repeatedly, and, though we like to make new ones, most people are intellectually conservative enough to keep a specially warm corner for those which were our first comrades and helped us to grow up.

And one of the precious qualities of this pursuit of reading which I commend to you today is that it offers us so infinite a choice from which we can select, as the spirit moves us. Are we heroic ? Let us read again the speech of Henry V before Agincourt, as set in his mouth by the greatest of all English poets :

“ If we are marked to die, we are enow

To do our country loss ; and if to live,

The fewer men, the greater share of honour. ”

Close on that passage, you remember, comes the romance of Exeter's description of the death of the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk, lying stricken side by side on the field of battle.

Convocation of the Delhi University.

York cries aloud :

“ Tarry, dear cousin Suffolk !

My soul shall thine keep company to heaven :

Tarry, sweet soul, for mine ; then fly abreast

As in this glorious and well-foughten field

We kept together in our chivalry ! ”

And then with what pathos Exeter tells how he tried in vain to stop his tears :

“ But I had not so much of man in me,

And all my mother came into mine eyes

And gave me up to tears. ”

Or let us turn to Sir Walter Scott, for preference I think Rob Roy—and, though I believe true Scott lovers don't agree with me, Ivanhoe. Or the description, that I can still never read without profound emotion, by Mr. Masefield, of all the transports in the last war setting out with their human freight from Mudros to effect the landing at Gallipoli.

At other times we are dispirited or disturbed, and our mind craves the solace that springs from nature and her works, unmoved as they are amid the din and clatter of the world of man. There is no lack of material of the kind we seek, for in every country and age the order of nature has never failed to make a sure appeal to contemplative minds. The similes of Virgil that ring most true are those that draw their inspiration from the simple things of life ; bees, a wounded snake, an oak in a storm, a dying flower. Among English writers, birds, flowers and the scenery of the country side have been the subject-matter of some of the things that will live as long as the English language. Wordsworth, Blake, Shelley, Gray, Thomas Hardy, Conrad, Mary Webb—to mention only a few names at random—are people with

Convocation of the Delhi University.

whom we shall surely desire acquaintance once made to ripen into closer friendship. Allow me, as an illustration of my meaning, to quote to you one sentence from one who is surely not the least in this gallery of immortals. There is a passage in that great unfinished fragment of Stevenson's, "Weir of Hermiston", where he talks of his beloved hills of the Scottish lowlands :

" All beyond and about is the great field of the hills ; the plover, the curlew, and the lark cry there ; the wind blows as it blows in a ship's rigging, hard and cold and pure ; and the hill-tops huddle one behind another like a herd of cattle into the sunset. "

To me that description stands out, sharp, clear-cut, poignant, as any landscape on a painter's canvas. Contrast with this picture of the softer tones of a Northern sky another haunting memory of the hard, set colours of the Eastern desert. It is Kinglake's description of the Dead Sea in Eothen, one of the great books of travel in our language. He speaks of the sea walled up by its " blank hills piled high over hills, pale, yellow, and naked. . . . There was no fly that hummed in the forbidden air, but, instead, a deep stillness ; no grass grew from the earth, no weed peered through the void sand ; but trees, borne down by Jordan in some ancient flood, spread out their grim skeleton arms all scorched and charred to blackness by the heats of the long silent years. "

It is interesting to linger over those two pictures, as different in character as a water colour from an etching and alike only in fidelity to their subjects, and to balance the intellectual delight we can derive from the pure artistry of words with the varying emotions which are aroused within us, even as we can suppose them to have been at work in the master-minds whose words we read.

Convocation of the Delhi University.

May I digress for a moment on this matter of artistry, as I have such a good text at hand? The passages I have quoted from Shakespeare and Stevenson are good examples of the power of simplicity in writing. The economy of words both in number and in length—for the monosyllable is the mightiest of all—is one of the secrets of style, and how much should we not all gain could we but take this lesson to heart in our own writing and speech. Official letters would lose some of their terror and oratory would gain in force by being direct. But this is a dangerous topic and I shall be well advised to say no more lest out of my own mouth you should convict me.

I have not the time, nor am I equipped to do more than point the way towards what I am certain is great enjoyment for nearly all of us, if we will only persist until we have got past the initial stages of impatience or unfamiliarity.

And of course within the severe limits of a brief address one cannot hope to do more than touch the fringe of those things which one has learnt to love, and it is not indeed my purpose today to do more than arouse in some here, if I can, the desire to forage for themselves among the treasures with which the ground is strewn. Moreover, everyone will have his own favourites, both of subject and treatment, so that each must decide for himself what books he is going to make his companions; we must each make our own anthology and learn by heart the passages of our own choice. But there can be no doubt that by so doing we build for ourselves a store-house from which mind and soul can freely draw.

I began by saying that I meant to give advice to the younger members of my audience. I have ended by

Address from the Muslims of Delhi.

rambling rather aimlessly through the fields of reminiscence, more perhaps for my own pleasure than for your advantage. May I conclude by two sentences of practical counsel? Train yourselves to read in odd moments of leisure, and as you read endeavour constantly to appraise the value according to your own standards of what you are reading. A good book, it has been said, should be more often on the knee than in the hand. for as we read we shall frequently pause to consider, digest and criticise. Nor let us be obsessed by the fetish of small minds that there is something unworthy in leaving a book that does not interest us unfinished. It is far better to recognise that all books are not for all tempers, or for all times, and turn to something which we can genuinely enjoy. The great thing is to aim at being catholic in taste, to read widely, to think about what we read, and so extend our range of thought and knowledge. We shall assuredly gain greatly by the background that we shall gradually form for ourselves, and we shall find if I mistake not that there are few sides of our common life that do not gain in colour and interest from the attempt.

ADDRESS FROM THE MUSLIMS OF DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation from the Muslims of Delhi at "The Viceroy's House", New Delhi, on the 29th March, and in reply to the address presented by them said :—

29th March
1930.

Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to meet your deputation this morning, and to receive the welcome of the Muslim residents of one of the many old cities of Delhi on taking up my abode in the new city, which so worthily upholds the historical and architectural traditions of the ancient Capital of India.

Address from the Muslims of Delhi.

I must thank you too for the congratulations you have offered me on the failure of the attempt which was made upon my train, almost within sight of this house, last December. The condemnation which you have expressed of actions such as this echoes the opinion of all wise and sober people, and I have in the last four months received abundant proof of the detestation in which such futile deeds are held.

I need hardly say that I share to the full your feelings in regard to revolutionary crime and anarchy, and I value greatly your uncompromising determination that Muslims shall dissociate themselves from all such activities. Those who encourage and inspire, and those who carry out, a policy of violence are taking upon themselves a responsibility far graver than they know, and are following a creed which can lead in but one direction and which, if it ever could achieve its end, must bring distress to millions of your fellow countrymen. The assurance, therefore, which you have given me that the Muslims of Delhi will support Government in any measures they may consider necessary to deal with any such activities, is a timely and valuable reminder of the assistance which Government has in the past received, and still counts upon receiving, from your great community.

I am not unaware of the disappointment felt by the Muslims of Delhi in the matter of representation in the Central Legislature, and I realise that in the existing communal conditions you have grounds for your apprehension that a Muslim is not likely to be returned to represent your constituency. I also recognise that, although Delhi Province has a larger representation in the Legislative Assembly in relation to population than any other Province which returns elected Members, it has not the advantages of other Provinces in possessing a Provincial Council, and to this extent it is less strongly represented

Address from the Muslims of Delhi.

in the councils of the country than any other Province. I believe moreover that, judged by the test of literacy, the representation of Delhi is below the standard which prevails elsewhere. The importance of your city on the other hand, both socially and politically, has, as all know, grown considerably in recent years. The whole question however of increased representation for Delhi has been laid in some detail before the Statutory Commission, and, though I can assure you that the matter is not likely to escape our close attention, it would not be proper at this stage for me to express my opinion on a matter which is still within the purview of Sir John Simon and his colleagues.

You have spoken too of the possible enlargement of the Province of Delhi, but, though I appreciate the strength of your feeling in this matter, it would not be right for me to hold out anticipations that your wishes can be met. I am afraid that very strong arguments would be necessary to convince the Government of India that any administrative advantage would be gained by such revision of Provincial boundaries as you suggest, which must always in itself cause considerable dislocation for some years. But importance is not to be judged by size alone, and you may rest assured that the interests of Delhi Province will not suffer in the eyes of the Government of India simply because its stature is less than that of the other Provinces of India.

The claim of the Muslim community for an adequate share in the public services is one in which I have always taken a deep interest and one which I have constantly done my best to advance. As you know, the policy of the Government of India on this subject has been made clear on more than one occasion. Their general principle is to correct any unreasonable preponderance of particular communities in the public services by devising special

Address from the Muslims of Delhi.

means to admit qualified members of other communities to the public service. As regards your own Province of Delhi, I have been at pains to ascertain how the position stands, and I believe it is true that, so far as the principal appointments are concerned, Muslims have a share fully proportionate to the numbers of their population. I earnestly trust that the Muslim community, which, as you say, has lee-way to make up in respect of employment generally, will so profit by the opportunities of education presented to them as to be able to lay fair claim, on the grounds of merit alone, to an adequate share of service both in Government offices and in other spheres of public life.

With regard to the difficulties you experience through the absence of a High Court in your Province, you are aware no doubt that the proposal for a Circuit Bench of the High Court in Delhi was, after careful consideration, refused a few years ago by the Government of India. I understand that the local administration has again been in correspondence with the High Court of Lahore on this subject, and that these consultations may result in fresh proposals being submitted. Should they come before me, they will I can assure you receive the sympathetic consideration of my Government.

I will note carefully what you say regarding the representation of Delhi at the Conference which is shortly to take place in London on the subject of constitutional reforms. The *personnel* of the British Indian delegation to the Conference has not yet been decided, and I fear I cannot at this juncture make any promise as to the representation of particular localities. But as you know it is the desire of His Majesty's Government that the Conference should be fully and fairly representative, and I earnestly hope that, whatever may be the final decision as to its composition, it will be such as to give no responsible interest cause to feel that their point of view has gone unrepresented.

Address from a Deputation of the All-India Shiah Conference.

I have touched, I think, on all the particular matters of interest to which you have referred in your address, and it remains only to thank you again for your welcome and for the sentiments of loyalty and goodwill to which you have given expression. I value these very highly—both from the personal and the public point of view. Indeed all people and all things connected with Delhi have a special claim upon my interest, and the welfare of the Muslim community who form such an important part of its population is never far from my thoughts. For Delhi and its surroundings hold much that is immortal of Muslim history. There are few spots within a day's march of this house, where a man could not stand and see before him some great memorial of famous Muslim Kings and rulers, or let his fancy rest on the Muslim theologians, historians, doctors and poets whose lives and works are among the memories of these places. I trust and believe that the future will be worthy of your great past, and that the Muslims of Delhi will continue throughout the years that lie before us to discharge with credit their just obligations to their community and their country.

ADDRESS FROM A DEPUTATION OF THE ALL-INDIA SHIAH CONFERENCE.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address from a deputation of the All-India Shiah Conference at "The Viceroy's House", New Delhi, on the 1st of April, and made the following reply :—

1st April
1930.

Gentlemen,—I count it a great privilege to receive this deputation from an Association representing the Shiah community which forms such a large and important section of Muslim India. It is a cause for great regret that His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, who, I believe, was to have led your deputation, should have been

Address from a Deputation of the All-India Shiah Conference.

prevented by ill-health from being here today. You will, I know, join whole-heartedly with me in wishing him a speedy and complete recovery. I thank you very warmly too on my own behalf and on behalf of Lady Irwin for the terms in which you have referred to us, and to our providential protection from the attempt recently made upon our train. The almost universal chorus of condemnation which that act evoked in every quarter of this country was eloquent of the recognition by public opinion of the damage such deeds do to the cause of India.

I deeply appreciate the spirit of loyalty which is manifest throughout your address. It is a source of great satisfaction to me that your community, which counts amongst its members so many distinguished men, accepts and appreciates the true value of the declaration which it was my duty to make last October on behalf of His Majesty's Government. In that statement His Majesty's Government made manifest their desire to mobilise and unite all the goodwill of Great Britain and India in a sincere effort to solve through frank and free discussion between representatives of this country and of Great Britain the large and difficult problems affecting the future constitution of this ancient land. I need no assurance from you that your community stands for the maintenance of those essential conditions of peace and order without which no progress is possible. In this field I am convinced that nothing is more needed at this moment than that the leaders of Indian opinion should apply their energy to the working out of a scheme of government which will at once command support among reasonable citizens and reconcile their natural and legitimate aspirations with the particular difficulties inherent in the Indian problem of which any solution must take account. And therefore it must be with genuine disappointment and sorrow that sincere well-wishers of the country watch so much effort and ingenuity

Address from a Deputation of the All-India Shiah Conference.

deflected from practical examination of concrete constitutional proposals, or from constructive work by which the people's lot might really be made more happy, to be expended upon the barren task of devising means to break the laws. It is not short of tragedy that men should be constantly asked to believe that there must be a political typhoon uprooting, destroying many of the features of the countryside before the sun can shine, and that the country can reach its rightful destiny only through agony and convulsion. In the name of non-violence there is much violence of speech and thought, and angry passions are being invoked which it may be more easy to arouse than allay. I am glad to think, therefore, that your community with its deep sense of the continuity of institutions and appreciation of the blessings of tranquillity is not afraid to stand openly against such policies.

I am particularly pleased to hear the account which you have given of the establishment of the Shiah Conference more than 20 years ago and of its rapid progress in securing the support of the influential members of your community. Its educational and charitable activities are surely worthy of recognition. I am glad too to learn of the good work being done by your orphanage at Lucknow with its primary school and Quranic teaching, its industrial section and its adequate medical arrangements. It owes much to the generosity of private benefactors, though, as happens elsewhere, the problem of balancing the budget is not always free from difficulty. You have also been successful in collecting a large sum, including a grant of about 1½ lakhs from the Government of the United Provinces, for the construction and maintenance of an intermediate college and of a college of higher status. I wish you all success in your endeavours to establish educational institutions on lines suited to the requirements of your community, and I trust that many

Address from a Deputation of the All-India Shiah Conference.

may be found to carry on the good work of your last President, that eminent educationalist, Mirza Wali Muhammad Sahib, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, whose untimely death we all deplore.

Turning now to the other points mentioned in your address, I have no doubt that the Statutory Commission, which had the benefit of close association with one of your Vice-Presidents, the Hon'ble Raja Nawab Ali Khan, will give careful consideration to the opinion expressed by your Conference on the vexed question of electorates. I recognise how keenly opinion runs on this matter, and, though I am naturally debarred from expressing an opinion on it until we have received the report of the Statutory Commission, I think I may assert a truth to which all experience will subscribe, that no constitutional arrangements can be expected to work smoothly which do not command the general and willing acquiescence of the communities principally affected by them.

As to the situation in Palestine to which you have referred, I would remind you of the assurances given by His Majesty's Government, who have laid it down that, so far as it is in their power to do so, they are anxious to secure that the interests—religious and material—of each section of the population should be duly respected.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. I was very sorry that pressure of engagements prevented me from receiving an address from your Association while I was in Lucknow, which is the centre of your activities and has for long been so closely associated with Shiah life and thought. I am glad therefore that you have given me this opportunity of meeting so many leading men of your community and of assuring you of my constant sympathy with its welfare and its beneficent activities.

ADDRESS FROM THE NAWABS, KHANS AND RAISES
OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

The Nawabs, Khans and Raises of the North-West Frontier Province presented an Address to His Excellency the Viceroy at Peshawar on the 14th April, to which His Excellency made the following reply :—

14th April
1930.

It has been a great pleasure to me to have been able to renew my acquaintance with the North-West Frontier Province and its people, and this pleasure has been greatly enhanced by the warmth of the welcome I have received on every side. Wherever I have gone I have been received with the true traditions of Pathan hospitality. I am very glad therefore that I should have had this opportunity today of meeting the leading residents of the Province, and of thanking you and, through you, the people whom you represent for the kindness they have shown to me throughout my visit. I must thank you too for the address which you have just presented to me, and I will make it my duty to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor the expression of loyalty contained therein.

Our meeting this morning has, I fear, been arranged on the spur of the moment, and my programme was already so full that it was necessary to invite you here at a time which I fear may have been inconvenient to some of you. You have, however, been good enough to save what time was possible by presenting me with a written instead of a spoken address and by supplying me with an advance copy of what you desired to say this morning. I cordially acknowledge the sentiments of loyalty and good-will which you have expressed therein and I will now endeavour to deal, as briefly as possible, with some of the matters to which you have referred.

My Government are fully aware of the danger of the revolutionary activities which you have condemned, and in fulfilment of their duty to preserve law and order

Address from the Nawabs, Khans and Raikes of the North-West Frontier Province.

they will continue to rely on the assistance of leading gentlemen such as I have the pleasure of addressing this morning.

I have heard with great gratification that the Shia-Sunni question has, through the good offices of the Chief Commissioner, now been settled, and that tribal guarantees have been given. I earnestly hope that this friendly settlement may long endure and that peace may reign on both sides of the border.

I join with you in rejoicing that peace has been established in the Kingdom of Afghanistan, and that the direction of affairs in that country has passed into the hands of so experienced a statesman. You are aware that His Majesty the King-Emperor has recognised His Majesty King Nadir Shah and it is the King-Emperor's most cordial desire not only that the bonds of friendship between the two Governments should constantly endure, but also that the ties of neighbourly intercourse should grow steadily more secure.

I have listened with much pleasure to the warm appreciation you have expressed of the services of Sir Norman Bolton to this Province, and I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging the great debt which my Government owes him for his wise administration of his charge during the last seven years. By his personal qualities he has won the sure trust of the people both of the settled districts and tribal territory. I myself have always known that in your Chief Commissioner I had a colleague on whose counsel I could confidently rely, and whose thoughts were continually directed to the welfare of the North-West Frontier Province and its people. I fully appreciate and, I assure you, will bear in mind the necessity which you have emphasised of having as Chief Commissioner one who has as thorough

Address from the Nawabs, Khans and Raikes of the North-West Frontier Province.

a knowledge of the country and its residents as Sir Norman Bolton possesses in so conspicuous a degree.

I will remember, as I know will your Chief Commissioner, the various other desires you have expressed. I am in agreement with you that the leading families of this Province should take their full share in its administration, for it is clear that character and family tradition are no less essential qualifications than a literary education for success in the Public Services. It is not possible for me on the eve of the publication of Sir John Simon's report to make any forecast of the constitutional changes which must be anticipated in this as in other parts of India. But whatever form of administration for this Province may finally be decided upon I trust that the capacity for leadership which has been characteristic of Pathan aristocracy in the past may find ample scope. Sir Norman Bolton, as you know, has long been in sympathy with the introduction of a Panchayat System and Honorary Magistracies, and any considered proposals for giving effect to such a scheme will receive his and my earnest attention.

No decision has yet been arrived at as to the method of selection of the personnel for the Conference which is to be held in London in connection with the constitutional reforms, and it is therefore impossible for me at this stage to say anything definite with regard to your request in this connection. It is, however, the desire of His Majesty's Government that the Conference should be fully and fairly representative of all interests entitled to speak on behalf of India.

Well, gentlemen, I have to start in a few minutes for the Malakand and for a keenly anticipated visit to the territories of the Wali of Swat and the Nawab of Dir. I have been able during the last few days, thanks

Address from the Nawabs, Khans and Raikes of the North-West Frontier Province.

to the wonderful efficiency of the Royal Air Force, to see more of the outlying parts of the Frontier than would have seemed conceivable a few years ago. I have visited the Kurram Valley, Razmak and Miranshah, and Wana within five days, and have noted with the greatest satisfaction the atmosphere of peace and of good-will to Government which prevails. Long may it continue. It is a sad thought that, so far as I can foresee, this will be my last visit to the North-West Frontier of India, and that this must be my farewell to you and to your fascinating country. During the remainder of my time in India, and when I return to England, I shall follow with constant interest and sympathy the fortunes of the North-West Frontier Province, and shall always wish its warm-hearted people all good fortune and prosperity.

OPIUM CONFERENCE IN SIMLA.

5th May
1930.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the "Black Spots" Opium Conference held at Simla on the 5th May with the following address :—

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to welcome here today representatives of all the Local Governments and of the principal Administrations, whom I take this opportunity of thanking, through you, for placing your services at the disposal of this Conference. Many of you have travelled long distances, at a season and under conditions that I fear can hardly have been conducive to comfort.

I am aware that the Governments of some Provinces were not convinced that anything of special use or interest to themselves would be elicited at these discussions. We are the more grateful to them for placing at the disposal of this Conference the experience and the advice of their officers, all of whom, I feel no doubt, will be able to contribute something of value.

Opium Conference in Simla.

This Conference, as you know, is primarily an inter-Provincial one. Opium is a Provincial transferred subject and the details of internal policy are therefore the direct concern of Local Governments. But, as has been pointed out more than once, our internal policy is no matter of mere domestic importance. It is jealously watched and criticised by observers in every continent. It has also to conform, and steps have been taken to ensure that it should conform in every respect, to our international undertakings.

From this point of view the Government of India are deeply interested in the removal of every possible occasion for unfavourable comment by honest critics here or abroad. It is not possible, nor would it be right, for the Government of India, when attention is called to any apparent abuse, to any defect in our arrangements, or to any failure to check the one or to repair the other, to take shelter behind the constitutional responsibility of Local Governments. Nor, as a matter of fact, would such a plea be found convincing by those to whom it was addressed. I can assure you therefore that my Government will watch the proceedings of this Conference with the keenest interest, and that those officers of the Central Government who will be present during your deliberations will spare no effort to assist you by any means in their power.

The Government of India, Provincial Governments, and the people of India themselves, may fairly claim that in recent years, and notably since 1924, much has been done to render our policy and our practice, internal and external, in regard to opium immune to reasonable criticism. The efforts of the Local Governments and Administrations, combined with the spread of education and enlightenment, have reduced the total consumption of the drug in British India, in the ten years preceding

Opium Conference in Simla.

the year 1928-29, from 459,177 seers to 277,053 seers, and the average consumption per 10,000 of the population from 18.83 to 11.20 seers per annum. Early in 1926 the Government of India announced their intention to extinguish entirely, within ten years, by equal progressive annual stages, their exports to the Far East, from which they derived a revenue of some four crores of rupees. The last exports will take place in 1935, and the coping stone will thus be placed on the structure of which the foundation was laid by the discontinuance of exports to China in the year 1914.

The combined result of these measures, internal and external, and of the popular tendencies that I have mentioned, has been to reduce the area under poppy cultivation in British India during the same period from 207 to 48 thousand acres. Of the peculiar and difficult problem presented by the cultivation of the poppy, and the accumulated stocks of old opium, in the Malwa States, we are actively endeavouring to find a satisfactory solution, with the co-operation of the Durbars concerned.

These are all matters in regard to which the action that we have taken has been dictated by a consideration of our international obligations as well as by our anxiety to pursue our own policy on progressive lines. Another such subject is that of opium-smoking. This is a live problem only in a few Provinces, and there effective measures, legislative and administrative, have been taken to prevent the spread of the habit among those not already addicted to it, and to ensure its ultimate eradication.

In British India as a whole the average consumption of opium cannot be said to be high. It is higher, it is true, than what is known as the League of Nations Standard, of six seers per 10,000 of the population, but this standard is one that has been fixed for the needs of

Opium Conference in Simla.

countries where the use of opium is confined to medical and scientific uses, and is therefore, strictly speaking, of little relevance to the conditions of this country. Nevertheless, the consumption in this country as a whole has now been reduced to less than twice this scale, and, if certain areas where the consumption is abnormally high—the “Black spots” as they have come to be called—were eliminated, there would be little cause for anxiety about the rest of the country. This is recognised by the writer of some pamphlets on the subject—the Rev. W. Paton, who can certainly not be accused of excessive sympathy with the opium habit. “For the larger part of the country”, he wrote in 1926, “the opium evil does not exist.”

During the years 1924, 1925 and 1926 a certain amount of pressure was brought to bear on the Government of India in various ways by persons who thought that the time had come for a fresh comprehensive enquiry into the opium question throughout British India. After a very careful study of the subject the Government of India came to the conclusion that no ground has been shown for such an enquiry, which if it were to be directed to the question of revising the conclusions of the impartial and authoritative Royal Commission of 1893, which had made a most exhaustive investigation and embodied the results in a masterly Report, could be adequately conducted only by a fresh Royal Commission. It appeared to the Government that no new facts had been brought to light that invalidated, or made it necessary or desirable to re-examine, the main conclusions of the Royal Commission. The Secretary of State for India, while accepting the conclusion of the Government of India that a fresh comprehensive enquiry was unnecessary, suggested the desirability of inviting Local Governments to set up local Committees for the purpose of investigating the causes of the relatively high consumption in certain areas, and

Opium Conference in Simla.

suggesting means of reducing it to a more normal level. The results of those enquiries you are now met to discuss, to digest, and to collate, and it may be hoped that from these materials you will be able, by your united deliberations, to deduce general conclusions, on the basis of which action may be taken (varying no doubt with local conditions and needs) that will lead to a material improvement of the conditions in these areas of high consumption.

A word is perhaps not out of place here in regard to one misunderstanding that has arisen, though it is perhaps not likely that any of those here labour under it. In suggesting the selection of certain areas for investigation, the Secretary of State mentioned those in which the average consumption per 10,000 of the population was more than five times the League of Nations standard to which I have already referred. Consequently in some quarters 30 seers per 10,000 has come to be regarded and referred to as the "Secretary of State's standard" of legitimate consumption, and he has been criticised for having (as was wrongly supposed) treated as legitimate in this country an average consumption five times as great as that considered reasonable elsewhere by the League of Nations. Of course, as has been pointed out before, the Secretary of State did not intend to lay down any such proposition, or to suggest that any standard largely in excess of the League's standard could be regarded with equanimity, still less with satisfaction, in British India. His object was merely to secure an intensive study of the phenomenon of high consumption in selected areas where it was manifested in a somewhat exaggerated degree and where it might therefore be easier to detect the causes underlying it, and so arrive at that diagnosis which is essential before an effective remedy can be prescribed.

I hazard the opinion that in some areas of apparent high consumption at all events the real significance of

Opium Conference in Simla.

the statistics is to be found in some form of illicit traffic. However that may be, I know that the illicit traffic not only in opium but in more pernicious drugs, such as cocaine, and in charas and other hemp drugs, is a cause of considerable anxiety and embarrassment to some, if not to all, Provincial Governments and Administrations. The Inter-Provincial Conference of Excise Ministers held at Simla in September 1926 was practically unanimous in considering that some sort of central organisation should be set up to collate information relating to the illicit traffic throughout India, and to co-ordinate measures for its suppression, though there was some difference of opinion as to the precise nature and scope of the machinery required. This question has been the subject of prolonged consideration, and for some time a Police officer with special knowledge has been on duty under the Central Board of Revenue for the purpose of studying the facts in all parts of India, with the assistance of the local police and Excise authorities. You are now invited to consider the subject again in the light of the full information that has been collected, and to assist the Government of India with your advice in regard to it. It may be hoped that in the near future it will be possible to translate the conclusions reached into action. The Government of India are anxious to do all that lies in their power to create effective machinery for dealing with this nefarious traffic. It concerns us, as it concerns the Local Governments, if somewhat differently, and it is a matter in regard to which they and we can, and should, co-operate to render mutual assistance.

Another subject finds a place on your agenda that is of great interest, and by no means unconnected with your main concern—the “Black spots”. That is the desirability of supplying excise opium in the form of wrapped and sealed tables of uniform weight approximating to a

Opium Conference in Simla.

reasonable average daily "dose" for a moderate consumer. This was suggested by the Taxation Enquiry Committee, who considered that it would not only ensure that the consumer got pure stuff and full measure, but also that it would afford a valuable check on illicit practices. After prolonged and careful investigations and trial in England and at Ghazipur, where experimental cutting and wrapping machinery has been installed, it has been established that it is possible to make up opium in this form. Great credit is due to the late Opium Agent, Mr. Gaskell, for the pains that he has devoted to this subject. The technical difficulties to be overcome were formidable, and without enthusiasm and concentrated study they could not have been surmounted.

The opinion of Local Governments however is by no means unanimously favourable to this make-up for excise opium. Some Local Governments are definitely opposed to it and fear that its adoption would be attended by serious disadvantages, and might even tend to encourage an increase in consumption. If this apprehension is well-founded, it is fatal to the scheme. On the other hand, one Local Government, at least, is disappointed that owing to this difference of opinion the installation of the somewhat elaborate and costly plant of various kinds that a large output of the tablets would require has been postponed. It is obvious however that the Government of India could not incur the very considerable expenditure that an installation of this kind would involve before they were assured of a demand for the product. If the result of your deliberations should be to dispel the apprehensions that I have mentioned, and if the supply of opium in tablet form should be accepted, I am inclined to think that to the extent to which it renders illicit practices easier of detection it will help materially to clean up the Black Spots.

Deputation of the Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab at Simla.

I have made a sufficient demand on your time, gentlemen. I must not longer detain you from the business that has brought you here. Should you be able to excogitate practical measures that will substantially reduce consumption in the areas with which you are specially concerned (and no doubt the same principles will be applicable in other areas where consumption though not so high is still excessive), a result will have been attained, the beneficial effects of which will be evident not only in these areas themselves, nor even in India alone, but far beyond her borders. For it must be clear that on the successful solution of the problem which you are met here to discuss will depend in no small measure the physical and moral welfare of many of our fellow human-beings in this and in other countries. It is a solemn duty incumbent upon all civilised Governments to protect from one of the most insidious dangers that can attack mankind those who through weakness of mind or body have given themselves over to the misuse of drugs. I would urge you earnestly therefore to grapple with this problem, difficult and elusive as it is, in the determination that through your efforts a lasting benefit shall in due course have been conferred upon the human race, and that the good name of India shall shine undiminished before the world.

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HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY
TO AN ADDRESS PRESENTED BY A DEPUTA-
TION OF MUSLIM ZEMINDARS OF THE
PUNJAR, AT SIMLA, ON 4TH JUNE 1930.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address from a Deputation of the Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab at Simla on the 4th June and made the following reply :—

4th June
1930.

GENTLEMEN.—

I am very glad to have the opportunity of meeting so many of the leading Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab,

Deputation of the Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab at Simla.

and I can assure you that I consider it a pleasure, and in no way an addition to the labours of what, as you say, is a busy time for us all, to welcome your deputation here this afternoon and to be put in possession of your views on matters of such great moment. I only wish that in your journey to Simla you had not been forced to travel through a Punjab June, which I fear must have caused many of you an uncomfortable journey.

The condemnation you have pronounced on the efforts which have recently been made to disturb the peace of India echoes what is being generally expressed by Muslims, both individually and through meetings and associations, in many different parts of the country. It is a great satisfaction to have the clear assurance of a body such as yours, which has, I know, a wide influence on public opinion both within and outside the Punjab, that you are determined to support Government in their task of upholding the authority of the law and to pursue the course of wise men towards the development of the country on peaceful and constitutional lines. I desire, on behalf of my Government, to acknowledge with the most cordial feelings the expression of continued loyalty which you have been good enough to make this afternoon.

You have asked in your address that I should urge upon His Majesty's Government the necessity of securing to Provinces a large degree of autonomy, and to India equality with the Dominions, in the constitution about to be framed for India. At the moment my lips are sealed upon such constitutional problems, which will no doubt be fully dealt with in the report which Sir John Simon is on the point of submitting. They will also, I doubt not, be one of the main topics of discussion at the Conference to be held in London, at which I shall certainly hope—in accordance with your desire—to see the interests for which you speak adequately represented. I often look

Deputation of the Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab at Simla.

back to the occasion at which most of you, I think, were present, when I was privileged to hold a Durbar—my first in India—in Lahore, and to add my meed of homage to the sacrifices which the Punjab made on behalf of the British Empire in the stern days of the Great War. Those sacrifices are not likely to be forgotten, and so long as they are remembered I cannot believe that the Muslims of the Punjab need fear that their just claims will pass unrecognised. I repeat what I said not long ago in a statement which some of you may have read that no settlement of the problem which confronts us can be considered satisfactory that does not carry the consent of, and give a sense of security to, the important minority communities who will have to live under the new constitution.

The claim which you have made this afternoon for adequate representation of the Muslim community in the public services is one with which I fully sympathise and which I have done, and will continue to do, my best to advance. As I have said on more than one occasion recently to Muslim deputations, the general policy of the Government of India is to adjust any unreasonable preponderance of particular communities in the public services by taking special steps to admit duly qualified members of other communities. We do not propose to depart from that principle, and I may say that the Home Department are now engaged in examining the practical working of our present system to see whether it is yielding fair results. This examination, as you will realise, involves a good deal of statistical research, but the Home Department are proceeding with it as quickly as they can at a time when they are necessarily burdened with other and grave responsibilities. As soon as this material is available, representatives of Government would be very glad to discuss the situation with any representative body of Muslim opinion.

Deputation of the Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab at Simla.

The particular question of the appointment of Muslims to the High Court of Lahore is also, as I appreciate, one of the greatest concern to you. The fixing of any definite proportion of Muslim Judges would, I fear, be a departure from accepted principles, but you may be sure that I recognise the force of the representation made in your memorial, and that, in recommending names for permanent appointments and in filling appointments of additional Judges, the considerations you have advanced will not be overlooked.

I have spoken earlier this afternoon of the great traditions of service to Government for which the Punjab Muslims are famous, and you may therefore feel assured that the question of the admission of Muslims to King's Commissions in the Army, to which you have referred, is one which will always have my sympathetic interest. I find on reference to the current Army List that out of 99 Indian King's Commissioned officers in the Indian Army 40 are now Muslims, and I trust that there is no reason to fear that the Muslim community will fail to maintain at least the same percentage of successes in future entrance examinations as it has in the past. I understand that there has been a high proportion of Muslims in the recent batches of Indian cadets entering Sandhurst, and I trust that their careers will be a credit to the virile races from which they have sprung.

To turn to the other matters mentioned in your address, I have watched the course of recent events in Palestine with particular solicitude, for I am well aware that developments in that country are a subject of the closest concern to the Muslims of India. I have not failed at each stage to keep His Majesty's Government apprised of the sentiments of Indian Muslims regarding affairs in Palestine, and I shall be careful to communicate to them the views on the subject to which you have

Deputation of the Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab at Simla.

given expression today. As I have said on another occasion, the declared policy of His Majesty's Government is to secure to every section of the population in Palestine the due protection of their rights and interests—both religious and secular. That is, I think, as fair and explicit a declaration as it is possible to make, and I think you may have confidence that in Palestine, as elsewhere, His Majesty's Government will pursue their declared policy, whatever the difficulties which may appear to beset their course. As you have probably seen from recent Press reports, His Majesty's Government have called for a further detailed examination of the vitally important questions affecting land tenures and immigration.

I entirely share the feelings of regret expressed by you with regard to recent unfortunate events in the North-West Frontier Province, and I trust that the tranquillity of the Province and confidence in Government will speedily be restored. Two High Court Judges are now conducting an enquiry into the disturbances of the 23rd of April at Peshawar and the measures taken to deal with them. Pending the results of that enquiry I would enter a word of caution against the acceptance in any quarter of unverified reports as to what actually took place, which may turn out to be untrue, and the expression of opinions which appear to prejudice the facts. With regard to the antecedent causes of those disturbances I can assure you that these are engaging active attention, and, if they are not included in the terms of reference to the enquiry Committee, it is only because it is considered that other methods of arriving at an appreciation of those causes are more appropriate. You may also be assured that no time will be lost, as soon as the facts are known, in taking steps to redress any administrative grievances of the people

Deputation of the Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab at Simla.

of the North-West Frontier Province which may be disclosed.

You express the view that one of the main causes underlying unrest in the North-West Frontier Province is the sense of disappointment felt by the people that their legitimate political aspirations have not been satisfied, and you believe that their satisfaction will prove to be the foundation of stable and peaceful administration. I am fully convinced of the importance which the people of the Province attach to constitutional advance, and realise the desire of your community in general that a Province which is predominantly Muslim should not be denied the means of political self-expression.

You may be interested to know that on my return from my recent visit to the Province, and before these unfortunate disturbances had arisen, I requested Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain to examine this question in order that no time might be lost by the Government of India after receiving the Report of the Statutory Commission in reaching their own conclusions. I am glad to be able to inform you that he is now presiding over a committee which is actively engaged in re-examining the problem in all its bearings. You will of course understand that it is not possible to anticipate the solution which may ultimately be approved by Parliament. But I can assure you that so far as I and my Government are concerned, when making recommendations on this subject to His Majesty's Government, the natural claims of the Province in the constitutional field will be viewed with sympathy, and I am taking steps to see that the people of the Province may have an opportunity of making direct representation of their views at the forthcoming Conference in London.

I have, I think, touched on all the points which you have been good enough to bring to my notice, and it

Deputation of the Muslim Zemindars of the Punjab at Simla.

only remains for me to thank you again for coming here today and for your reassurance, which I most highly value, that the loyalty of the great community for which you speak remains unshaken. We are passing through anxious times, and have seen the damage wrought to India by a policy which is the negation of all progress and construction. It has been a source of deep gratification to me and to my Government to know that the Muslim community, with few exceptions, have been wise and statesmanlike enough to appreciate the dangers of such activities and by keeping sternly aloof from them they have acted in the true interests of their own community and of India.

I have seen it suggested that in the face of the present troubles the Government have allowed their desire to find means of meeting Indian aspirations to be buried under a ruthless determination to secure victory over those who are responsible for the present Civil Disobedience movement. Nothing could be further from the truth, for it remains my fixed resolve to do all that is in my power to give effect to the words which I used on November 1st last year.

But constitutional advance, in the true sense of a change which will be beneficial to India, depends at this stage upon two conditions : first, on co-operation based upon mutual trust between the Indian and the British peoples ; and secondly, the maintenance of the authority of constituted Government. It is because the present Civil Disobedience movement represents a negation of both these conditions that it must be the imperative duty of my Government to oppose it.

But while recognising this necessity it remains my earnest desire to promote generous constitutional advance, and, if those Indians, who, like yourselves, are prepared to join with my Government in this endeavour, can also

Opening of the Y. M. C. A. building in Simla.

find means of persuading your countrymen of whatever creed to join you in this co-operation, then your efforts will be of true service to your country.

I am not without hope that it may be possible to settle the future constitution of India, as I and my Government, and His Majesty's Government, have always hoped that it would be settled, by agreement between the various parties and interests in India on the one hand, and His Majesty's Government on the other. But, if these hopes are to be realised, it will be necessary that those who have embarked on the Civil Disobedience movement should discard the ideas of force and coercion which underlie it and be prepared once again to adopt the methods of argument and reason. In such happier circumstances it would be possible for all those who wish India well to collaborate in finding a solution of her problems by which all communities might securely and freely give of their best in India's service.

OPENING OF THE Y. M. C. A. BUILDING IN SIMLA.

20th June
1930.

In opening the Y. M. C. A. building in Simla on the 20th June His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have had the pleasure, during my time in India, of being associated with the opening or the foundation of many buildings in different parts of the country, but this is the first time that I have been invited to attend an occasion of this kind in Simla. The reason, one might have supposed, was that Simla had every kind of building that heart could desire. But nobody, who is here today and sees the fine building which I have been asked formally to open, can doubt that it is a very real and very valuable addition to the institutions of Simla.

Opening of the Y. M. C. A. building in Simla.

Your President has just given us a most interesting account of the development of the Young Men's Christian Association in Simla, of the work it is doing, and of the enthusiasm and generosity which have combined to raise it to its present position. I heartily associate myself with all that he has said in appreciation of Mr. deNoronha's princely gift which made possible the completion of this Hall. I hope that others, inspired by his example, will not be slow to offer the further requirements which Sir George Rainy has mentioned; these are matters which—unlike many burning questions of the day—need not be shelved pending the publication of the Simon Report. I know that you will also echo all that your President has said in recognition of Mr. Webb Johnson's work in collecting funds for the Association. It is due to him, perhaps more than to any other single person, that we are able to meet together for this ceremony today. Mr. Webb Johnson from his legal knowledge has of course the advantage of knowing the depth to which the law will allow him to put his hand into other people's pockets, and you will agree with me that he is in more senses than one the perfect solicitor, a word whose lay definition you will find in Webster's Dictionary as "one who asks with earnestness". I would like to take this opportunity of associating myself with the gratitude felt by the Young Men's Christian Association in Simla to their Secretary, Mr. Fraser Sutherland, for all that he does for the Association.

It is left to me to say a word as to Sir George Rainy's own contribution to the life of the Association. Those who have worked with him, both here and in Delhi, know well the debt which the Young Men's Christian Association owes to his unfailing energy and encouragement. He has made it quite clear to us this afternoon that until now the Simla Association lacked quarters worthy of its great endeavour, and it must give

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.*

the truest pleasure to those interested in its work to see the fine building which has now been provided. It is gratifying to know that the names of three persons, Sir Charles Monroe, Sir William Birdwood and Sir Alexander Muddiman than whom I am sure the Young Men's Christian Association in India has never had better friends, will here secure permanent commemoration.

I noticed a day or two ago, in reading one of your reports, that the Young Men's Christian Association's address for telegrams is the word "Manhood". It is, of course, not given to us all to live up to our telegraphic addresses. But I take it that no one here has any doubt that the Young Men's Christian Association goes the proper way about making men—in the best sense—of those who are fortunate to come within its influence.

I have had the opportunity of seeing a good deal of your Association's work in India, and am privileged to know many of those engaged in it, to admire the ideals they set before themselves, and the faith and singleness of purpose with which they strive to achieve them. I am confident that those high principles will inspire all those who are destined to share in the life and work of this institution, and that it will mean something very real in the lives of many of the younger generation in Simla.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN
AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED
CROSS SOCIETY AT SIMLA.

24th June
1930.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Combined Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society held at Simla on the 24th of June and delivered the following Address :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Four years ago today I had

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.*

the pleasure of welcoming for the first time in their annual general meeting those responsible for the great work which the Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association carry on in India. During the last year of a Viceroy's office his approaching end is apt to be brought vividly to his mind at annual functions such as this by the thought that he is attending them for the last time. And it is sad to reflect that in welcoming you all warmly here today—some of you from long distances—it must also in a way be the occasion of my taking my official farewell of you.

Looking back over our last five general meetings, and glancing through the old annual reports, I am tempted to sum up briefly the progress which has been achieved in that period. The first of those reports opened by saying that the preceding five years of the Society's life had been spent in exploring and preparing the field for the peace-time activities of the Red Cross, and that the ground was ready for the seed which had been sown. Since then the crop has year by year increased, in a way which would be the envy of farmers in real life. Sir Henry Moncrieff-Smith has just told us that the Society's membership has multiplied five-fold since that year, and I notice that, while the first report of which I am speaking ran to only six pages, Sir Henry has found it impossible to condense the activities of 1929 into a smaller compass than 15. His style, I think, is no less terse and business-like than that of his predecessor, and this enlargement of the report is in itself a measure of the growth in the work done.

A five-fold increase is no mean achievement. But, if the crop has grown, there are among the tall poppies some which are still disappointingly small. Two years ago I mentioned the uneven progress which had up till

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.*

then been made, and I think the same criticism is still true. But, having said this, I should like to congratulate the Punjab and Burma warmly on the striking progress they have made and to echo what your Chairman has said of the fine work performed in the Punjab by Khan Bahadur Khurshid Ahmed and in Burma by Mr. deGlanville and Dr. Anklesaria and others. The increase in their numbers is proof that besides distributing funds among their philanthropic Societies these Provinces have succeeded in making people interested in the peace-time objects of the Society and thus engendering the spirit of voluntary service for the benefit of others.

In reading the Red Cross report for this year one cannot but be struck by the widening of the Society's horizon. It is one of the 56 Societies which go to form the Red Cross league ; it has been recognised as an independent National Society by the International Red Cross Committee of Geneva ; at the Empire Red Cross Conference held in May this year it was well represented, and His Royal Highness the Duke of York who presided paid a tribute to its work, especially in the field of child welfare. It is thus taking its place among, and co-operating with, Societies of other countries in the world-wide task of alleviating human suffering. I was greatly interested to notice that the international spirit has reached the Junior Branch of the Society, and that the Juniors of the Government High School in Amritsar exchange correspondence with a School in Holland.

We have gained and, I am confident, shall continue to gain much by this international co-operation, and side by side with this it is fitting that we should endeavour to co-operate with other organisations in this country for the attainment of the objects of our charter. The Indian Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association have always worked together in close con-

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.*

nection in India, but there are other bodies with whom closer relationship would, I am sure, result in much mutual benefit. I am pleased therefore to learn that a scheme for closer co-operation among charitable organisations and for the co-ordination of all child-welfare work has been elaborated, and I trust that it will be possible to bring it into operation before many months are passed. The new Headquarters in Delhi, for which we are indebted to the princely generosity of His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh, will be of material assistance in accomplishing this object.

Sir Henry Moncrieff-Smith spoke of Red Cross relief work in times of disaster. The last twelve months have unfortunately given scope for work of this kind and I am glad to know that the Red Cross Society seized the opportunity to demonstrate its capacity to deal with such emergencies. We have all listened with pleasure to the tribute which Sir Henry has paid this afternoon to the part played by Malik Firoz Khan Nun in the Punjab flood disasters. I look forward to the time when in each Province there will be a relief organisation ready to take the field at a moment's notice, and knowing that in time of need it can count on ready assistance from neighbouring Provinces.

I will not attempt to comment on all the activities of the Society or to trace their development during the past five years, but I must express the satisfaction that we all feel at the large increase in that most important sphere of Red Cross work, child-welfare. The activities of Mrs. Cottle's Committee in Bengal and the invaluable work done in the Central Provinces by Mrs. Tarr are proof of the results which the Red Cross can achieve in this field of their labours. Although Army child-welfare is not a branch of the Society, a grant has been made to it for the last three years from our Headquarters funds,

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.*

and it is a great pleasure to be able to congratulate Lady Birdwood, to whose inspiration the work is largely due, and the Army Commanders' wives on the success that has been attained.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was good enough to mention the honours recently bestowed on Lady Irwin and myself by the venerable Order of St. John, and there is no one from whom we would rather have received these kind congratulations. For Sir William Birdwood has for many years now been a guiding spirit in the counsels of the Order, and the St. John Ambulance Association is one of very many bodies in India that will deplore his loss when he lays down his present distinguished office.

From the speech he has made today and from the annual report which is before you we have learnt with satisfaction that the activities of the Association are being well maintained. The interesting table on the first page of the report shows that, every year, a large number of people are being added to those who have undergone a valuable training in first-aid. At the same time it has been suggested to us that the organised application of all this training still leaves something to be desired. It is no doubt difficult for busy people, engrossed in work of their own, to bind themselves unreservedly to duties in which as a rule urgency is of the essence of the contract. But I feel sure that with the co-operation of organised bodies such as Railways—which have done great work in developing ambulance training among their employees—of the Police and prisons, of schools and colleges, of mines and factories, where classes are now being held, it ought to be possible to form many more ambulance brigades than now exist, and thus provide a means both for refreshing the knowledge and training acquired by

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.*

their members and for dealing speedily and effectively with any emergency that may arise.

Another feature of the Association's work in which both Lady Irwin and I take a particular interest is the development of home nursing classes. I had occasion when laying the foundation-stone of the Central Hospital in Delhi last January to draw attention to the lack of trained nurses in hospitals all over India, and the discomfort and anxiety which must frequently be caused to patients and their friends by the difficulty of getting private nurses to attend to serious cases of illness. I feel sure that the knowledge gained at the home nursing classes organised by the Association will be invaluable in time of need.

There is one further matter about which I wish to say something today. The fund for which, as you know, I appealed last year to commemorate His Majesty the King's recovery from serious illness has now been closed and amounts to something over 9½ lakhs of rupees. I have received a large number of valuable suggestions as to the allocation of the fund, and some time ago I appointed a small Central Advisory Committee including among others the Hon'ble Member for Education, Health and Lands and the Director-General of the Indian Medical Service to advise me as to the merits of the various schemes submitted. After the fullest consideration, this Advisory Committee recommended that with the funds at our disposal an anti-tuberculosis scheme is one that is most likely to be of real service to the people of India. The best means of relieving suffering is by prevention of disease, and the best means of preventing disease is by education directed towards the causes of disease and the methods by which these causes may be removed. The scheme of which the Committee have drawn up an outline is therefore concentrated on the prevention of

*Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association
and the Indian Red Cross Society at Simla.*

tuberculosis, and, after consulting both official and non-official opinion in the different Provinces, I have decided that a scheme of this character would meet with the most general approval throughout India. Some of you may remember that at our General Meeting last year I announced that Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra had offered the assistance of the machinery of the Red Cross Society in administering the Thanksgiving Fund, and I have ascertained from those now in authority that the Society will be ready to administer the scheme we have now decided upon. The King has been graciously pleased to approve our proposal, and I think we may congratulate ourselves both on being able to provide the Red Cross Society with funds for a much-needed campaign and on the good fortune of having such an efficient organisation to administer the scheme.

Before I close may I add once more my tribute to the inestimable public service performed by the two Societies represented here today, and as it may be my last opportunity of doing so I would also record—with, I know, your warm approval—the debt we owe to Sir Henry Moncrieff-Smith for the unfailing enthusiasm with which he guides our policy, to Miss Hill for the zeal and energy which she infuses into all her work and—may I add—for the success with which she seems to have disarmed the male suspicions of our Assistant Secretary. Sardar Bahadur Balwant Singh Puri's services are far too valuable to us to risk losing! Official organisation can do much, and is doing more every year in India, in the way of preventive and medical policy, but the value of its work will always be enhanced by voluntary and unofficial endeavour, which can serve, so to speak, as an experimental and propaganda section of the organisation for public health and thus prepare the ground for the development of Government schemes for the relief

Deputation from the Sikh community of the Punjab.

of suffering. It has been my privilege to be formally associated during my time in India with the Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association. It will be my desire and hope, as years go on, to hear of their constantly extending growth and influence, for I shall know that the sick and suffering are receiving the alleviation they crave, and that India is playing her part worthily in the unending warfare that mankind must wage against its most relentless enemy disease.

DEPUTATION FROM THE SIKH COMMUNITY OF THE
PUNJAB.

In replying to the Address presented by a deputation of the Sikh Community of the Punjab at Simla on the 30th June, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

30th June
1930.

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to receive your deputation this afternoon and to have the opportunity of addressing the representatives of the great Sikh community of the Punjab. It is an added pleasure that you have chosen as your leader a Prince whose house holds such a distinguished position not only, as you have said, in your own community, but in the whole history of British relations with the Punjab, and whose own personal services to Government in peace and in war have earned gratitude and well-deserved recognition from Government. His association with your deputation today is a token of the close ties which exist between British India and the Ruling Chiefs and which I venture to think will prove of growing importance with the further development of the constitution of India.

You have touched lightly on the services which your community have rendered to Government in the past. No one looking back over the history of the Punjab since the beginning of its relations with the British Government is likely to underestimate the value of the assistance

Deputation from the Sikh community of the Punjab.

rendered in times of stress by your community, whether he lets his thoughts rest upon the dark days of the Mutiny, when the loyalty of the Sikhs and of their Chiefs was of such inestimable value to Government, or upon the battle-fields of Gallipoli, France or Mesopotamia, where the flower of Sikh chivalry made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of freedom and the Empire.

You may feel very confident therefore that I most deeply appreciate your renewed assurances of loyalty to the Crown and of your determination to support the cause of law and order. These, I know, are no empty phrases, but represent the firm decision of a great people to play a part worthy of it in the constructive task of laying a new foundation for India's future.

Let me assure you that I fully realise the extent to which the feelings of the Sikh community were stirred by the news of the unfortunate occurrences at the Sisganj Gurdwara at Delhi on May the 6th. The depth and volume of those sentiments have been repeatedly brought to my notice by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, whose solicitude for his community is well known, and by the Governor of the Punjab within whose jurisdiction the majority of the Sikh population is to be found. Believe me that it is a cause of deep sorrow and regret to me and my Government that such an incident should have occurred ; and we deplore the distress which it has inevitably caused to your community.

Since the advent of British rule it has been a fixed tradition of the Government in India to recognise and respect the sanctity of places of worship. This policy has been faithfully and continuously pursued ; and I need scarcely dwell on the numerous acts of Government which testify to it ; for they are well known to you. Suffice it to say that the kind of acts I have in mind are the inclusion of special provision for their protection in the penal law, the continuance under British rule, in

Deputation from the Sikh community of the Punjab.

favour of many shrines, of jagirs, grants and muafis originally granted by rulers of the faith with which they are connected, and the elaborate arrangements which are made for the comfort and convenience of pilgrims to the places they hold in veneration.

This attitude has not been dictated by reason of self-interest, but springs from genuine conviction. It is a cardinal item of policy ; and the spirit which underlies it is expressed in the proclamation of Queen Victoria relating to the freedom of religious beliefs, a passage from which I may quote to you—

“ Firmly relying Ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of Religion, We disclaim alike the Right and the desire to impose Our Convictions on any of Our Subjects. We declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their Religious Faith or Observances ; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the Law : and We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under Us, that they abstain from all interference with the Religious Belief or Worship of any of Our Subjects, on pain of Our highest Displeasure.”

Let me assure you that I and my Government stand steadfast in those convictions. We regard as matters of first importance the protection of all communities in the free exercise of their religious beliefs and the preservation from disrespect of the sacred places which they hold in reverence. My Government will in future, as in the past, be scrupulous in condemning and preventing any action which may give genuine offence to religious sentiments or

Deputation from the Sikh community of the Punjab.

interfere with the use, for purposes of worship, of sacred buildings, by whatever community they may be venerated.

Nevertheless I must necessarily attach to this assurance a qualification which you yourselves recognise as just. Indeed it is the essence of the matter that a sacred building should be devoted and preserved for the purpose of worship. All men condemn as unseemly the misuse of a building set apart for the service of God for the purpose of giving provocation or committing excesses. While Government always desires to respect the sanctity of places of worship, it must be a point of principle that the public should not by any action detract from, or sully, their sacred character. It was the temporary abrogation of this principle at a time of popular excitement that was the occasion of the incident we all deplore. I recognise that the circumstances were peculiar and that they made it exceptionally difficult for those responsible for the management of the Gurdwara to exercise the effective control which they would doubtless have otherwise exercised; for owing to re-building operations the front of the building was open and it was thus easy for members of the excited crowds to enter. I and my Government have most carefully examined the material in our possession relating to the events of the 6th of May, and we are unable to come to any other conclusion, but that the Gurdwara was used on that day by ill-disposed persons to attack from the flank a party of police who were proceeding at great risk to themselves to the rescue of their comrades, whose lives were in imminent danger. It was to save this party from a furious and continuous shower of brick-bats which had already injured a number of members of the party, that firing had to be directed towards the Gurdwara. It is natural that you should feel distressed at the firing and its results; and I am fully prepared to give all due weight to the strength of your sentiments.

Deputation from the Sikh community of the Punjab.

At the same time, I would remind you, shortly after the occurrence the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, when receiving a deputation of Sikhs, gave an assurance that he would make enquiry into any specific complaint against any Government servant relating to excess of firing at the time the mob was dispersed, or arbitrary conduct on the part of the police when the search of the Gurdwara was made, or to any other matter concerned with the incident. Up to the present no such complaint has been laid before him. I would also remind you that the Magistrate, who held a public enquiry into the occurrence, found that the firing was unavoidable and that had there been any hesitation on the part of the police the Senior Superintendent and his party would have lost their lives. He did not find that any Government servant had been guilty of excess. The reason, therefore, for which Government have taken no disciplinary measures, is not that they desire to shield anyone guilty of misconduct, but that the evidence in their possession shows that the circumstances do not call for such action.

But none-the-less I and my Government, as I have already made plain, deeply regret the incident, which has inevitably caused pain to the Sikhs and which threatened to be the cause of misunderstanding between them and Government. We desire as strongly as you that all ground of misapprehension should be removed and that no efforts should be spared on either side to prevent the occurrence of any such incident in future. I know that the Chief Commissioner shares this desire, and I am instructing him to carry out in co-operation with the Sikhs all arrangements that may be practicable. The exact details I must leave to him to work out in close consultation with the Sikhs of Delhi. The measures may well take the form of closer liaison at times of public excitement between the authorities and the

Deputation from the Sikh community of the Punjab.

Manager of the Gurdwara and of greater caution on the part of the latter in regulating admission of persons generally to some portion of the building on such occasions ; but I must leave those with local knowledge to work out arrangements best suited to local conditions.

You express your conviction that, if my Government can give some clear token of their goodwill towards the sacred shrine, it will cement the friendly relations which have always bound the Sikh community to Government. I am only too pleased to give a ready response to a suggestion, the acceptance of which will show in an unmistakeable manner that this unfortunate incident will not be allowed to impair enduring friendships or to attenuate the respect with which Government view the sanctity of a shrine, the very traditions of which testify to the friendship of the British and the Sikhs. I am, therefore, instructing my Government to make to the shrine in a suitable form a grant of the value of Rs. 25,000 to be expended at the discretion of the Committee of the Gurdwara.

You have also called attention to the fact that certain high posts have not yet been filled by Sikhs. I am sure you will realise that it must be the policy of Government primarily to select for such appointments as those of High Court Judges those who are considered best qualified to perform the duties of that high and responsible office. But I have no doubt that, as time goes on and the number of Sikhs who are qualified for appointment increases, you will find that your community will play its full part in these spheres.

The important questions to which you have referred regarding the position of the Sikhs in the future constitution of your country, regarding communal electorates and the adjustment of the claims of different Provinces and communities, these and other vital matters are among the subjects which it will be the duty of the approaching

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

Conference in London to discuss. I do not think it right or possible for me to anticipate those discussions, but I can promise that the selection of Sikh representatives to the Conference will be guided by the sole desire to ensure that due weight should there be given to the claims of your community and to the important position it holds in this great Province of Northern India.

With you I earnestly desire that it may be the fortune of this country soon to enjoy once more the blessings of ordered and contented peace, and that the bonds which unite it with Great Britain may endure with increasing strength. I am confident that the Sikh community will not be backward in this great task, and that, as the Sikhs have so often stood shoulder to shoulder with their British comrades in times of danger, so hand in hand they may now advance with them in a common endeavour to work unremittingly for the good of India.

ADDRESS TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE INDIAN
LEGISLATURE AT SIMLA.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla on the 9th July :—

9th July
1930.

GENTLEMEN,—

It is my first duty this afternoon to offer to the newly appointed President of the Legislative Assembly my congratulations on his election to that honourable post. I am confident that he will fill it with dignity and distinction, and that he will have the support of all parties in the discharge of the duties that the House has entrusted to him.

I felt some doubt, gentlemen, whether it was in accordance with your wishes that a session of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly should be held this summer. In reaching my decision I was influenced

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

largely by the fact that, apart from certain official and non-official business which it was desirable to transact, it seemed clearly right that members of both Houses should have an opportunity of discussing matters of public interest, on which also I wished, before the legislature was dissolved, to have the privilege of addressing you.

This session will mark the close of the second Council of State and of the third Assembly, which last has already been extended by two sessions beyond its normal term. In certain quarters a desire in favour of a further extension for the Assembly has been expressed, and notice has been given of a resolution to be moved to this effect. After giving the matter my careful consideration, I came to the conclusion that it would not be right on general grounds to extend the present Assembly further, and in consequence of this decision it appeared that the most convenient course would be to dissolve the Council of State in time to allow of the elections of both Houses to be held concurrently in September. This procedure I propose to follow. I realise that an election at that time will mean that those who have recently been successful in bye-elections can take part only in one brief session, and that it may for climatic reasons cause inconvenience both to candidates and electors. I greatly regret that this should be so, but the usual date of elections is impossible if it is not to clash with the approaching Conference in London, and for those potential candidates who may in due course be invited to go to England for this purpose September elections would, I think, be accepted as the most convenient.

The return of His Majesty's Legation to Kabul marks the re-establishment of normal relations between His Majesty's Government and Afghanistan, and the end of a period of difficulty and stress.

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

The situation on our North-West Frontier, which for some time was such as to give cause for anxiety, is now I am glad to say giving place rapidly to more satisfactory conditions. I wish warmly to commend the efforts both of leading residents of the Province and of the official authorities to restore to the North-West Frontier Province the old relations of friendship and confidence between its people and Government.

On the North-Eastern borders of India, difficulties arose between the Governments of Nepal and Tibet over a question of the nationality of an undertrial prisoner, and led to incidents involving very serious tension between them. The possibility of hostilities between these two countries, both neighbours of India, was not one which India could regard with equanimity, and with the consent of His Majesty's Government special efforts were made to avert any such calamity. A friendly mission was despatched to Lhasa, and, acting on advice thus tendered, the Tibetan Government took the steps necessary to remove the cause of friction. All is now well between the two countries, and both have expressed their gratitude for the friendly action taken by the Government of India.

As Hon'ble Members are aware, two important questions relating to Indians overseas have been engaging the attention of my Government for some time past. One of these arose out of the recommendations made by the Hilton Young Commission and by Sir Samuel Wilson regarding closer union in East Africa ; the other concerned the basis of franchise under the new constitution in Ceylon. His Majesty's Government have recently announced their conclusions about both. I need not recapitulate them in detail, as they have received full and wide publicity in India. But I wish to make a few observations on the points of outstanding interest to India that emerge from these announcements

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

As regards East Africa, the proposals of His Majesty's Government are to be referred to a Joint Select Committee of Parliament. When this Committee is set up the Government of India will intimate their desire to place it in possession of their views on those proposals that concern the Indian communities in these territories. The conclusions of His Majesty's Government that the official majority should be retained in the Legislative Council of Kenya and that the establishment of a common roll is the object to be aimed at and attained are in accordance with the views consistently urged by the Government of India. Fears have been expressed in certain quarters that the scheme of closer union formulated in the White Paper may ultimately prove detrimental to Indian interests. I would however draw the attention of Hon'ble Members to the various safeguards provided in the scheme to protect racial minorities. They may rest assured that, should it later be found necessary, the Government of India will make the requisite representations on the subject.

The decisions of His Majesty's Government regarding the franchise in Ceylon recognise the claim of the Government of India to watch over the interests of Indian emigrants in the Colony. Explicit renunciation of their protection by an Indian applying for a certificate of permanent settlement will not be required. There is no intention of repealing or amending to the detriment of Indians any of the laws of Ceylon affecting their position or privileges, which they will continue to enjoy. As regards the future, the Governor will not be empowered to assent to any bill diminishing or abrogating these privileges, unless he has previously obtained the instructions of the Secretary of State, or the measure contains a suspending clause. Fears have been expressed that the effect of these concessions will be neutralised by inclusion

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

in the Order in Council of the provision that no holder of a permanent certificate, while registered as a voter, will be entitled to claim any rights, privileges or exemptions that are not common to all British subjects resident in the Island. This provision in no way affects the assurance of His Majesty's Government that there is no intention of curtailing the special privileges that are now enjoyed by Indians. There is no reason to think that, by friendly negotiation between the Government of India and the Government of Ceylon, the retention of existing privileges, and the extension to all Indians of concessions that the Government of India may be able to secure hereafter for Indians who do not enjoy the franchise by virtue of possessing certificates of permanent settlement, will not be achieved.

Before leaving the subject of Indians overseas, I should also like to draw the attention of Hon'ble Members to the fact that Ministers of the Union of South Africa have decided to postpone, till the next session, the bill to regulate the tenure of fixed property by Asiatics in the Transvaal which was introduced in the Union Parliament in May this year. This delay, which we warmly welcome, permits the hope that the provisions of this measure, which as you are aware has caused considerable alarm among Indians in the Transvaal, may ultimately be adjusted to satisfy the legitimate claims of the Indian community.

I must now address myself to the subjects which constitute the principal and daily preoccupations of all concerned with the political future of their country. I desire to speak most frankly, for the gravity of the times requires that I should place all those who hear or read my words in full possession of my thought. I would remind you briefly of the background against which recent

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

events are set. During the last half century, the development of political thought in India has been a continuous process. Particular events, notably the War, quickened the pace, with the result that the value of the reforms of 1919, marking though they did a very definite new departure, and affording wide opportunity for public-spirited men to serve their country, was in some quarters soon discounted in the forward movement of political opinion. One of the joint authors of those reforms had gained the confidence of political India in a way that it has been given to few British politicians to do, but even the position that Mr. Montagu held in Indian hearts did not suffice to protect from disparagement the scheme associated with his name. Many influences were at work, and of these the reforms were not the least effective, to make it certain that the nationalist spirit in India would develop, and that quickly, and that such development would be sought upon lines that British experience, and contact of the political classes with British education and practice, naturally suggested.

Outside India this movement was imperfectly appreciated ; and, if in India criticism of what *was* occupied more place upon the stage than constructive thought of what *might be*, Indians might, not without some justice, reply that Great Britain, preoccupied as she is apt to be with pressing problems nearer home, had been slow to apprehend how rapid a transformation was passing over the Indian outlook. And so, bred of impatience on one side and lack of appreciation, mistaken for lack of sympathy, on the other, suspicion grew, aggravating as the years passed the difficulty of bringing to bear on these matters from either side the dispassionate judgment that their complexity demanded.

When I came to India, I came with one dominant conception of the work which in this generation any

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

Viceroy must set out to try to do. Amid all his duties of administration, as the head of a great Government, no Viceroy as it seemed to me could for one moment forget that the principal duty, which he owed alike to those on whose advice he had been called by the King-Emperor to his office, and to those whom for five years it was his duty and his privilege to serve, was to devote all his energies to the maintenance of a progressive, orderly, and contented India within the orbit of the British Commonwealth. It is not necessary for me to recall the influences, naturally centrifugal, at work upon the other side. Differences racial, with all that they imply in distinction of thought ; differences of religion, affecting men's minds the more profoundly because their operation was more frequently in large degree subconscious ; differences of environment and history ; all these and many more combined to make the task of effecting and preserving true unity between Great Britain and India one which would strain the capacity of the best material on either side. And yet I could feel no doubt that it was the one supreme purpose for which no effort was disproportionate.

It was also evident that looking ahead it was hardly to be expected that India, rightly sensitive of her self-respect, and growing every year more conscious of national feeling, should of her own free will desire to remain indefinitely a partner in the political society of the British Empire upon terms which implied a permanent inferiority of status. It was for this reason and with the object of removing avoidable misunderstanding on this vital matter, that His Majesty's Government last year authorised me to declare that in their view the attainment of Dominion Status was the natural completion of India's constitutional growth. That declaration was made and stands.

His Majesty's Government simultaneously announced their intention to convene a Conference, as widely representative in character as possible, in order that, after

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

the submission of the Statutory Commission's Report, spokesmen of Great Britain and India might take free counsel together upon the measures which His Majesty's Government would later present to Parliament. That Report has now been published, and I do not think that any impartial reader, whatever may be his opinion upon the actual recommendations made, will deny that the Commission have made a weighty and constructive contribution to a most difficult problem. Great however as for its intrinsic value must be the authority of the report, it was neither the desire nor the function of the Commission to anticipate the decisions of His Majesty's Government, reached after Conference with representatives from India, or of Parliament itself. Their task was described by Sir John Simon in the following words :—
“ No one ”, he said, “ should regard the Statutory Commission or its colleagues as though we were settling and deciding the constitution of British India. Our task is very important, but it is not that. Our task is that of making a fair, honest and sympathetic report to the Imperial Parliament. When we have made our report, then it would be India's opportunity to make her full contribution, which is right and necessary, to her future constitution, which would be framed by Great Britain and India together ”.

The duty of expressing an opinion now passes to the Government of India, and, just as the Commission would have failed in their duty to Parliament by whom they were appointed, if they had not presented a report that reflected faithfully their own conclusions, so the Government of India would fail in their duty if they similarly did not approach consideration of the Commission's Report with a full sense of their own responsibility. We have not hitherto been able to do more than give preliminary and tentative examination to the Report, and

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

before reaching conclusions I think it is right that I should have the opportunity of discussing the whole subject with some of those who can speak for non-official Indian opinion. I hope to have occasion to do this with some of the Ruling Princes and representatives of the States next week, and I should propose also to invite representatives of different views and interests from British India to meet me for this purpose as may be found convenient.

I am only too well aware of the degree to which calm examination of these questions has been prejudiced by the events that have engaged public attention during the last few months. It will be remembered that, following upon my refusal to anticipate the discussions of the Conference, Mr. Gandhi, in spite of my declaration of the purpose of His Majesty's Government and of the free opportunity for mutual co-operation and accord which that Conference was designed to provide, decided to launch a campaign of civil disobedience, and proceeded to use his great influence to persuade his countrymen to adopt a course of open defiance of the law. Before this reckless plunge had been finally taken, I did my best to give a clear warning of the consequences that it must involve ; but the warning fell upon deaf ears. That campaign has now been in progress for some three months, and all of us, whatever be our judgment upon it, must be conscious of the damage in countless directions that has already been inflicted. Those who have identified themselves with this movement would have us regard it as a perfectly legitimate form of political agitation, to which resort is had only under pressure of regrettable necessity. I cannot take that view. In my judgment and in that of my Government it is a deliberate attempt to coerce established authority by mass action, and for this reason, as also because of its natural and inevitable developments, it must be regarded as unconstitutional and dangerously subversive. Mass action, even if it is

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

intended by its promoters to be non-violent, is nothing but the application of force under another form, and, when it has as its avowed object the making of Government impossible, a Government is bound either to resist or abdicate. The present movement is exactly analogous to a general strike in an industrial country which has for its purpose the coercion of Government by mass pressure as opposed to argument, and which a British Government recently found it necessary to mobilise all its resources to resist. Here it has been sought to employ more dangerous weapons even than this, and the recent resolution of the All-India Working Committee of the Congress, insidiously designed to seduce police and troops from their allegiance, leaves no longer room for doubt of the desperate lengths to which the organisers of the movement are prepared to go, and gave Government no option but to proclaim the body responsible for such a resolution as an unlawful association. He would in truth be a false friend of India who did not do his utmost to protect her from acquiescence in principles so fundamentally destructive.

I gladly acknowledge that there have been public men who, in the face of strong opposition, have not been afraid to condemn in unequivocal terms the civil disobedience movement. I could wish their example had been more widely followed. After all, is it not a very dangerous doctrine to preach to citizens of India that it is patriotic and laudable to refuse to obey laws or to pay taxes? Human nature is often reluctant to do either, and, if there is anything certain, it is that, if society is once thoroughly inoculated with these noxious microbes, the disease will perpetually recur, until one day it paralyses the Indian Government of the future which by these methods it is sought to bring into existence. It may not be long before Indian Ministers are responsible, for example, for the assessment and collection of land revenue or other taxes.

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

They would have little cause to thank those who had allowed the impression to gain ground that withholding of payments legally due was a proper method of voicing general political dissatisfaction with the established Ministry.

Therefore it is that I have felt bound to combat these doctrines and to arm Government with such powers as seem requisite to deal with the situation. I fully realise that in normal times such frequent resort by the Governor-General to the use of his special powers would be indefensible. But the times are not normal, and, if the only alternative is acquiescence in the result of efforts openly directed against the constituted Government of the King-Emperor, I cannot for one moment doubt on which side my duty lies.

I have never been blind to the fact that in the circumstances which we are considering there would inevitably be serious clashes between the forces of Government and that section of the public which supports the movement, and that many persons would thereby unavoidably sustain physical injury. From the first moreover it was certain that during disturbances innocent persons must at times suffer with the guilty. Where this has been the case I deeply deplore it, and tender my personal sympathy to those concerned. But it is necessary to consider where the primary responsibility rests. When the fire brigade has to be called in to extinguish a fire, it frequently does serious damage, but though the fire brigade does the damage none would suggest that it was responsible for the fire which was the original reason for its being called in, least of all when the fire was due to direct incendiarism. No good, therefore, is done by shutting our eyes as to where the original blame must lie, and, whatever criticism there may be of those whose task it is to put out the conflagration, speaking generally I have nothing but commendation

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

for the servants of Government, both civil and military, who have been doing their duty with great steadiness and courage in conditions of the severest provocation and often of direct risk to their lives. Several—I speak of the police—have been brutally murdered, and in many cases they and their families are subjected daily to the grossest forms of persecution. I am glad to know that several local Governments have sanctioned for them allowances for the extra duties which they have had to perform and have not been backward in bestowing rewards for exceptionally meritorious service.

The gravity of the present movement however does not deflect my judgment on the question of constitutional reform by a hair's breadth to the right or left. Hon'ble Members know that I am not fighting civil disobedience because I lack sympathy with the genuine nationalist feelings of India. I have never concealed my desire to see India in enjoyment of as large a degree of management of her own affair, as could be shown to be compatible with the necessity of making provision for those matters in regard to which India was not yet in a position to assume responsibility.

I am therefore bound at this time to keep two principal objectives in the forefront of my mind, and in this regard I wish to state my position and that of my Government in the clearest terms. So long as the civil disobedience movement persists, we must fight it with all our strength because, whatever may be the spirit by which many of its adherents may be animated, I believe from the bottom of my heart that it is only leading many of India's sons and daughters, in mistaken service of their motherland, unwillingly to expose her to grievous harm.

On the other hand, so far from desiring to secure so-called victory over a nationalist movement constitutionally pursued, I desire nothing more than to be able to help

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

India so far as I can to translate her aspirations into constitutional reality. I would ask what fairer method could be devised for this than one by which all the various points of view can be sifted in discussion, and where, not by majority voting, but by the influence of mind on mind in daily personal contact, a sustained attempt can be made to discover once for all the more excellent way in which Great Britain and India, to the benefit of each, can walk together.

The date of assembly of the Conference has already been made public, and on behalf of His Majesty's Government I am now able to define its functions more precisely. After very careful consideration His Majesty's Government have reached the conclusion that it would not be right to prescribe for the Conference any terms more limited than were implied in my statement of November 1st last, and that the Conference should enjoy the full freedom that those words connote. The Conference accordingly will be free to approach its task greatly assisted indeed, but with liberty unimpaired, by the Report of the Statutory Commission or by any other documents which will be before it. It is the belief of His Majesty's Government that by way of conference it should be possible to reach solutions that both countries and all parties and interests in them can honourably accept, and any such agreement at which the Conference is able to arrive will form the basis of the proposals which His Majesty's Government will later submit to Parliament. From such a definition of the scope of the Conference it is clear that His Majesty's Government conceive of it not as a mere meeting for discussion and debate, but as a joint assembly of representatives of both countries, on whose agreement precise proposals to Parliament may be founded. The Conference will thus enjoy the unfettered right of examining the whole problem in all its bearings, with the

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

knowledge that its labours are of no academic kind, and His Majesty's Government still hope that Indians of all schools of thought, whatever the attitude that some have hitherto taken, will be ready to share in this constructive work. I see no reason why, from frank discussion on all sides, a scheme might not emerge for submission to Parliament which would confound the pessimism of those who would tell us that it is impossible for Great Britain and India, or for the various interests in India, to reach agreement.

My Government is anxious to render to the Indian side of the Conference every assistance that it can, and for this purpose has decided to place a secretariat at its disposal, consisting of Sir Geoffrey Corbett, Mr. Latifi and Mr. G. S. Bajpai, whose knowledge of many different sides of administration will, I am confident, be of great value.

Gentlemen, I have only a short time left of my official term of office, and I would anticipate its end by concluding what I have sought to say rather as a friend than as Viceroy and Governor-General. As I look back over the time I have spent in India, I can recall no occasion on which I have consciously sought to work for anything but India's good. I believe I can claim to have learnt something of the feelings that fill the hearts of many Indians of all classes and all shades of thought, who have been good enough to extend to me a friendship which I shall hope to enjoy long after I have said goodbye to India and the present troubles are left behind.

India is a country the scale of whose history and physical features alike condemn those who would take small views. The monuments with which her land is enriched attest the faith and perseverance of her master craftsmen, and reprove those who would believe that any other qualities can serve the constitution builder, who

Address to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla.

builds not for himself but for futurity. I believe, as I have said often, that the right and the best solution of the riddle of India will be found only by Great Britain and India joining together in the search. But this demands faith, which we are at times tempted to think only a miracle could now give in the measure dictated by our necessities ; and many would have us believe that the age of miracles is past. Yet in India more than elsewhere there is the capacity to apprehend the spiritual power by which things apparently impossible are brought to pass, and I at least cannot doubt that, could we but recapture the spirit of mutual trust between our two countries, we should in so doing liberate invincible forces of faith to remove those mountains which have lately hemmed us round.

I am in better position than others here to know the effect that would have been produced in Great Britain, if the hand of friendship that she extended last November had been generously grasped in the same spirit by those who could speak for India. Many things said subsequently on both sides would have been said differently or remained unsaid ; new misunderstandings would have been avoided ; and the whole setting of the problem would have been favourable to a more just appreciation of the several points of views that have to be brought to harmony. It seems therefore utter tragedy that at the moment when the chances of settlement were perhaps better than they have ever been, and the stage was set for a free and unbiassed consideration of the whole problem, the party of Congress should have thrown aside the finest opportunity that India has ever had.

I would hope that it might yet not be too late for wiser counsels to prevail, by which all the political thought of India might be harnessed to the task of welding into unity

All-India Landholders Deputation.

the elements that compose her life, and in conjunction with Great Britain devising the best means for giving constitutional expression to them. Thus two roads to-day lie open ; one leading as I think to turmoil ; disunity ; disappointment and shattered hopes : the other guiding those who follow it to the India of our dreams, a proud partner in a free Commonwealth of Nations, lending and gaining strength by such honourable association. India to-day has to make her choice. I pray God she may be moved to choose aright.

ALL-INDIA LANDHOLDERS DEPUTATION.

29th July
1930.

In replying to an Address presented by a Deputation representative of the Landholders in India at Simla on the 29th July, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—It gives me the greatest pleasure to welcome here to-day such a large and representative gathering of landholders from different parts of India. Though it was your own suggestion that you should come to Simla to discuss the important matters dealt with in your address, I had always hoped to take an early opportunity of making myself acquainted with your views in pursuance of the desire, which I expressed in my recent address to the Legislature, of discussing the subjects traversed by the Statutory Commission's Report with some of those who can speak for non-official Indian opinion. Towards the formation of that opinion the landholders of India have, I know well, their particular and important contribution to make, and it is therefore most useful to me to have the authoritative expression of opinion on these vital matters which you have been good enough to place before me this afternoon. Anyone, who looks at the list of signatories to your address and considers the by no means insignificant proportion of the whole country in which they have so large a stake, will

All-India Landholders Deputation.

realise how essential it is that the most careful consideration should be given to their views upon the future constitution of India, and in particular as to the place which will be allotted therein to the landholding classes.

Let me leave you under no illusion as to the importance I attach to a contented and prosperous rural population, whether owners or tillers of the land, above all in a country such as India where agriculture is and must continue to be the main industry of so large a majority of its people. Families like yours, which have—some of them from ancient times—their roots deep in the broad acres of Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and other parts of the country, and whose interests depend, perhaps more than those of any other section of the community, upon peaceful and orderly administration, ought from the nature of things to be one of the chief and most stable buttresses of the Government which, either now or in the future, has the welfare of India's many millions in its charge. You may be sure that such considerations will be very present to the minds of those who will have the fashioning of the future constitution of this country.

I have said enough, gentlemen, to leave you in no doubt as to the feelings that I and my Government entertain towards the landholders of India. I feel it all the more necessary to say what I have this afternoon, because, as you will realise, it would hardly be possible for me at this juncture, while the Government of India is still occupied with the examination of Sir John Simon's Report, to do more than play the rôle of a listener and take note of the views you have been good enough to place before me. My remarks this afternoon therefore must be directed rather to setting forth the difficulties of the case on both sides than to the enunciation of final or definite conclusions. Conclusions indeed can hardly be reached until these and other important

All-India Landholders Deputation.

matters have been considered by the Round Table Conference, to which, I can reassure you, it is my intention to recommend His Majesty's Government to invite an adequate number of those who can speak for the interests you represent.

The first main criticism which you have directed against the recommendations of the Statutory Commission's Report is that it proposes to abolish the special representation of landholders. Some of your observations may, I think, be accepted without question. Few, for instance, would be found to deny that landholders by their success in responsible posts in the administration have made abundantly good their position in the new constitution, or that a class who pin their faith to wholesome conservative tradition and to support of good and stable Government is a supremely valuable feature in any constitutional system. I would go further and say that I think you do the Commission less than justice if you doubt for a moment their full appreciation of these facts. If I read aright the arguments they have put forward to support their proposals regarding representation of landholders, they are really based on a clear recognition of the commendable readiness shown by the landowning classes to carry out their obligations and take up their political responsibilities under the new conditions of an increasingly popular system of government. It is, of course, an admitted fact that landholders—the more credit to them—have succeeded in obtaining a considerable measure of representation through general constituencies in addition to their special representation. Balancing this on the other hand is the question how far this is true of landholders more than, for example, of commerce or the Universities and this point perhaps is one that deserves further examination. Your real apprehension, I take it, is that with the extension of the franchise and with larger councils landholders will tend

All-India Landholders Deputation.

to lose ground in the new Legislatures, and that special nomination by the Governor may not prove a satisfactory means of remedying these conditions. These and other relevant considerations are matters which you will have an opportunity of developing in greater detail either at the Round Table Conference or at some later stage.

A further point of considerable interest which you have raised in this connection is that, if landholders are forced by the suggested change in their representation to cultivate the interest of the general body of electors in preference to that of the landed classes which they historically and actually represent, the result cannot fail to be a clash of interest between the people of the country and the landholders. I take it that the eventuality you are anxious to prevent is the deterioration of relations between tenant and landlord, and no one, I think, can be blind to the dangers lurking in any such estrangement. For the strength of the landowning classes is in a contented peasantry, whose joys and whose sorrows they share, and whose welfare is bound up in their own. It is moreover clearly desirable that such questions as tenancy and land revenue measures which I suppose must inevitably engage the attention of Provincial Councils in future should be adjusted with the greatest possible degree of harmony between the two parties primarily interested. If the fears you have expressed can be shown to be well-founded, they would clearly be an important factor in arriving at a decision on the main question of representation.

I was struck by the passage in your address which referred to the policy associated with the name of Lord Canning. In your view one of the principal merits of that policy was that it had permitted the Taluqdars of Oudh to devote themselves to the improvement of their estates and to the welfare of their tenantry. I would venture to say that, whatever may be the ultimate

All-India Landholders Deputation.

decision on the question of special landowner representation, and I in no way underrate its possible usefulness as a means of securing just recognition of valuable and stabilising elements in Indian society, such special treatment alone will not permanently be able to effect these results. You have spoken of the policy, followed by the Oudh Taluqdars of 70 years ago, of fostering the improvement of their estates and caring for the real welfare of their tenantry, and I am sure no one here to-day would deny the landlord's obligation to better the lot of those who inhabit their villages or till their land, by promoting improvements in water supplies, schools, medicine and health, better methods of agriculture and in many other activities that may make for the well-being of the country side. It is my firm conviction that, as landowners can succeed in thus identifying themselves with the daily life of those dependent on them, they will, besides discharging the duties that their position requires, be strengthening immeasurably the foundations of their order by basing them upon the grateful affections of their own people.

The second main point on which you found yourselves at variance with the recommendations of the Commission relates to the proposal to impose a tax on agricultural incomes. This is a matter on which in any case I should hesitate to express an opinion until the views of Provincial Governments have been received, but I am familiar with the discussions which have often taken place on this subject, for example before the Taxation Enquiry Committee, and with the political, legal and administrative difficulties which emerged in the course of these discussions and which it would be necessary to examine carefully before reaching any conclusions. There are also questions of the return such a tax might be expected to produce. I observe that the estimated yield has varied according to different calculations from one crore to three crores, while Sir Walter Layton's assumption is a yield of five crores. This latter figure

All-India Landholders Deputation.

however is I presume based on prices of agricultural produce considerably in excess of the prices which obtain to-day. In any case however I cannot suppose that, if and when the matter were raised in definite form, the arguments both of equity and expediency which you have raised will fail to carry due weight with those on whom the burden of decision would rest.

The desire you have expressed for second Chambers in the Provinces is a matter that will receive our close attention. As you know, the arguments on either side have been set out clearly in a special chapter of Sir John Simon's Report, and I do not think there is anything further that can at this stage usefully be said except that we shall not make any recommendation without carefully considering the factors to which you have to-day drawn my attention.

It remains for me only to acknowledge with gratification what you have said towards the close of your Address regarding the deplorable results of the civil disobedience movement and the efforts I have not ceased to make to restore the old atmosphere of friendliness and mutual trust between the different races and classes in India. But by the nature of things at this moment the desire of my Government and of those on whose support we count to see a return to happier conditions is dependent upon the willingness of others to abandon a course of action, which so long as it persists makes any such hope still-born. I may perhaps at this point interpose the observation that, unfortunate as such a course of action must always be in its results on the country, it would hardly be possible to imagine a more disastrous occasion than the present for the introduction of discord and disturbance. The whole world is passing through an economic crisis, and owing to a combination of world conditions, the causes for which I will not now endeavour to explain, there has in the course of the

All-India Landholders Deputation.

past year occurred a tremendous fall in the price of all agricultural commodities. My Government have been watching this course of affairs with grave concern, for such a fall in prices must inevitably create difficulties and hardship in a country like India where such a vast proportion of the population depends upon the sale of agricultural products. In such a time of difficulty it is of the most urgent importance that all the forces of the country should combine together in a common effort. We can, it is true, do little to control conditions in other countries, and, so far as our opportunities to sell Indian produce in the markets of the world are concerned, we are dependent mainly upon external forces. But the home market in India is also very important, and, if disturbances in India come on top of the world conditions to which I have referred, the results may be disastrous indeed. Such disturbances have been now created by the civil disobedience movement, and the results are everywhere apparent. It has resulted in a complete loss of confidence in all business centres. No one in these conditions wishes to enter into new contracts. Shopkeepers and retail traders do not wish to lay in stocks, and as a result we see for example that the cotton mills of Bombay cannot dispose of their cotton goods. Many mills have had to close down, and as a result of the general position the mill-owners are not able to purchase Indian cotton. From this the growers of cotton directly suffer—but others suffer too. The loss of profit and unemployment which results mean that the purchasing power of the country for grain and other agricultural products is reduced. I have referred especially to Bombay, but the effects are general, and it is no exaggeration to say that the civil disobedience movement has produced a paralysis of business in all the industrial and commercial centres of India—and that this must react disastrously on the Agricultural interests of all

Opening of a new Hall at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla.

kinds by destroying the market for their produce. Moreover, it reacts unfavourably on the whole world, for India contains one-fifth of the world's population and economic stagnation in India must have world-wide effects. Here again the agricultural classes of India specially suffer, for they rely to so great an extent on the markets of the world for converting their surplus products into money. Every thinking man must regret that in the struggle for constitutional advance the true objects for such advance should be forgotten and defeated: for no change of Government can bring any real profit to a country unless it can be expressed in terms of well-being for the masses of the population. You have prescribed a threefold combination as a cure for the troubles which beset us—sympathy, understanding and statesmanship. These are indeed essential, and they were never more essential than they are to-day in the conditions of special difficulty which I have briefly described. Without them we could not in any case start the future with confidence and courage. Without them in the special circumstances which are affecting all agricultural countries like India to-day we cannot hope to find any exit from the difficulties which are already present, and India would be left to meet new constitutional conditions so crippled in material resources as to be almost fatally handicapped against any chance of successful progress. I would pray therefore that these qualities—sympathy, understanding, statesmanship—should be vouchsafed to us all according to our need, so that with firm hope and single purpose all who have constructive contributions to make may join in the building of the new life of India.

OPENING OF A NEW HALL AT THE BISHOP COTTON
SCHOOL, SIMLA.

In the course of a farewell visit to the Bishop Cotton School on the 20th September, His Excellency the Viceroy

20th September 1930.

Opening of a new Hall at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla.

opened the New Hall and also unveiled the portraits of Mr. Ironn and Mr. Lewis, former Headmasters of the School, and in doing so said :—

Your Excellency, Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Boys of Bishop Cotton School,—It is a great pleasure to me to visit this School once again. I have been anxious, since I last came here, to see how the School was faring and how far it has fulfilled the promise which I then saw. It is possible, of course, to gather something of a school's progress from the reports, statistics of examinations and the various papers on the subject, which I am privileged to see in this case, but these have not the living value which is to be obtained from a visit, when personal relations can be established and the visitor, by seeing the faces and general bearing of the boys, may hope to imbibe something of the spirit of the School, indefinable but real, with its blend of tradition and ideals, for which both the masters and the boys are responsible. And here I should like to pay a tribute, in which all will, I know, join me, to Mr. Peacey and his colleagues for all they have done for this School—whose great debt to these the boys would, I am sure, be the first to acknowledge.

Though, as I have said, it is a great pleasure for me to come here to-day, the pleasure is not an unmixed one. There are few who do not experience a feeling of sadness in consciously doing anything for the last time, and this is, I am afraid, my last visit to the School. The sadness is all the keener when the thing done is a thing of enjoyment. I have not been here as often, as I should have liked—the duties of a Viceroy have a habit of preventing him from doing all that he would wish to do—but I think I can say that there is no school in India in which I take a greater personal interest. This is only natural, since any institution which plays so large a part in the life of Simla as does the Bishop Cotton School must claim a

Opening of a new Hall at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla.

big share of the attention of the Viceroy, who spends more time in Simla than in any other place in India. I shall often think of this School when I have left India, and continue to hope that things may go well with it.

One of my duties to-day is formally to open the new building in which we are assembled this afternoon. It is a great asset to the School, and I am very glad that the Punjab Government have been able to help in erecting and in adequately equipping such a fine hall. It is a happy indication of the constant interest shown by His Excellency the Governor, his colleagues—and I would here make special mention of the Hon'ble Minister for Education—and the public men of the Province in all that pertains to education, whether of Europeans or Indians, in the Punjab.

Your Headmaster has mentioned the question of an endowment fund ; and I can well imagine the strength that such a fund would bring to the school, in the way of rendering it immune from possible fluctuation in the matter of Government subsidies in the future and of enabling some boys to educate themselves further at English Universities after finishing their time here. I earnestly hope that the fund may be a success.

One development since I was last here is the opening of Intermediate classes. I hope that an increasing number of boys will take advantage of these facilities for higher studies. If Anglo-Indians and Europeans, whose future lot is cast in India, are to take their place in Government service and the public life of the country, they will have to remember that there will be increasing competition to be faced, and they will have to put their backs into it if they are to succeed against competitors being turned out in large numbers all over India. So, if this School is to perform the function we hope for, good examination results become of importance not only in

Opening of a new Hall at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla.

examinations such as those for Oxford and Cambridge certificates, but in those on the lines of Indian University degree study to which the first step is the Intermediate Examination.

It has been the lot of many of us to hear speakers, on occasions like the present one, extol their school days as the happiest of their lives and then remark with complacency that they, far from obtaining prizes, were always at the bottom of their class and failed in every examination. I do not wish to commend this complacent attitude, but I cannot help thinking what a much better place I should have thought school, if there had been no examinations ! But, I suppose, if there were no examinations, there would be no prizes, and I should have no prize-winners to congratulate to-day. I am sure that a lot of the boys here to-day—both prize-winners and others—will make their mark in the world, and show that this School is performing its function by turning out boys not only well-educated but of the character which we are accustomed to associate with a school like this.

It is perhaps worth while considering for a moment how the life in the bigger world, on which many of you are on the verge of entering and which all of you will enter within a few years, will fit in with what you have here learned. What in fact are the motives which make people do things ? When a man or boy is faced in some matter of importance with the question ' Am I to do this or am I not ? ', what makes him decide in one sense or the other ? Is it his own material advantage ? That comes into all our lives and it is no use disregarding it simply because it doesn't or shouldn't rank very high in the scale of motives. Most of us have to make our own way in the world ; many of you will shortly be deciding on careers ; it is all to your credit to get the highest

Opening of a new Hall at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla.

market value for your talents, whether in business, Government service, or professions. But the thing to remember is that there are many better things in the world than money.

Is it public opinion? We are all largely bound by it, whether it is that of our school, our club, our profession, our class of society, or of the whole nation. There is no need to emphasise what may be the value of a wholesome public opinion, or the handicap which besets a country where public opinion is lacking or is unsound. Before very long it will be you or people of your age who are making the public opinion of the country. School gives you a good idea of the power of public opinion; and anything that passes the standard at school is probably fairly good, for boys are shrewd judges and the 'popular' boy at school is generally a boy of sterling all-round qualities. But at the same time public opinion is not always a safe guide. It may be wrong, just as the supposedly infallible umpire gives us out l. b. w. when we know that we weren't. Public opinion is after all little more than the sum of individual human judgments, and one man may sometimes be right where a thousand are wrong. Many of the greatest names in history—saints, soldiers, philosophers—have been great just because their owners did not accept public opinion. Against this one can think of popular heroes who by the merest accident or twist of fortune might have remained totally unknown.

I suppose therefore that ultimately every man and boy has to be guided by his own judgment of what is right and what is wrong. Philosophers have given long names to it—"categorical imperative"—and many things go to the making of it—religion, influence of persons, tradition, associations—but everyone knows the sense of "ought". And, if a school is to fulfil its function, it must send out boys imbued with the right sense of

Opening of a new Hall at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla.

"ought". Therefore form your own judgments of what is right. I hope this won't alarm Mr. Peacey ! But I am not asking you to be rebels against authority. What I mean is that, though in our lives as members of society, whether it be family, religious community, or State, we must clearly accept some authority, in individual judgment of right and wrong, we must test and reinforce it by the standard of our own thought and consciences. As one of our great English thinkers said. "Originality consists in thinking for oneself ; not in thinking differently from other people". For most of you, your judgment will no doubt not be very different from hundreds of thousands of others, but its virtue will be that it is your own. Take with you from school the right sense of "ought" and you have justified your school, your masters, your fellow school-boys and yourself, and will be doing your bit to the creation of the sort of public opinion that can make a country great.

I started by saying that you could only get at the true character of a school by visiting it. One characteristic of the Bishop Cotton School I see is patience, and I have detained you long enough.

I have now the pleasure of formally declaring this hall open. In doing so, I would express my earnest hope that all those who now or in future years meet daily within its walls may be worthy members of this School, that they may here learn the great lesson of *esprit de corps*, and that, when they leave it as pupils for the last time, they may go out into the world determined to put into practice the lessons which they have learned and to uphold, as Cottonians, the fair name and reputation of this place.

I have one other function to perform--to unveil the portraits of Mr. Ironn and Mr. Lewis who, as Headmasters of this School, gave many years of their lives to the service

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

of this foundation. It is fitting that their services should be recorded in this Hall, and that present and future generations should be reminded by these portraits of those elder members of the Bishop Cotton family.

FAREWELL DINNER GIVEN BY THE MEMBERS AND
MINISTERS OF THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT TO HIS
EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY.

The Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government entertained His Excellency the Viceroy at a Farewell Dinner at Simla on the 29th of September. In thanking his hosts His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

29th September 1930.

Gentlemen,—The honour you have done me by inviting me here to-night is one of very many kindnesses shown to me, during my time in India, by the people of the Punjab ; and I am greatly touched, Mr. Chairman, that you and your colleagues should have thought of thus entertaining me and giving me an opportunity to take official leave of the Punjab before leaving Simla. You have spoken very generously, Mr. Chairman, of both Lady Irwin and myself, and I find it difficult to thank you as I should wish. I am sure, speaking for us both, that, whatever the merits or demerits of what we have tried to do during our time in India, we could never have done it unless we had felt that we enjoyed the real friendship of very many persons of all classes and shades of political thought, among whom our work has lain.

You have made mention of the interest Lady Irwin has taken in the cause of female education, and, although she has done whatever lay in her power to forward the work in the way of better provision for private effort in the cause of public health that was inaugurated by her predecessors, no cause has been nearer to her heart than

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

that of extending the opportunities of education for the women of India. And I cannot but think she has been right to feel that this subject is vital to the cause of India's progress. On her behalf and my own, I am most grateful, Mr. Chairman, for what you have been good enough to say.

As you, Mr. Chairman, have just hinted, a Viceroy has every temptation to become at any rate half a Punjabi himself. No longer able like Lord Dalhousie to remove himself for weeks at a time 150 miles from the seat of Government to Chini, in summer he shares with your Government what loyalty to our own Headquarters impels us all to rank as the Queen of Indian hill stations, and for a great part of the winter he enjoys the delight of a cold weather, which Delhi shares with the Punjab. It follows that he has the privilege of seeing a great deal of the people of the Punjab, officials and non-officials—a privilege which I value so highly that I wish considerations of space and time could give me similar opportunities in every Province in India. Having said this, and without being so foolhardy as to draw comparisons, I think I may say that the land of the five rivers has every reason to be proud both of its people and of those who are charged with all the business of Provincial administration. You have good reason to know how much the Punjab has owed to the two Governors who have, in a distinguished succession, held this important post during my Viceroyalty, Their Excellencies Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency. We owe very much to them for the wisdom, based on the just admixture of sympathy and firmness, with which they have conducted the affairs of their great charges in difficult times. For myself I know that I have constantly felt it to be of the greatest value to have at my elbow an administrator of

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

ripe experience, in direct touch more particularly with the aspect which matters of common concern may present to the Provinces as a whole, and whose counsel was always readily at my service. You can rest assured, Mr. Chairman, that the idea of evicting the Punjab Government from Simla has never been part of my political creed. I recognise too clearly the force of opinion behind the Punjab Land Alienation Act to make such an attempt.

When I speak of the Members and Ministers of Government, who are our hosts this evening, I think that all will agree with me when I say that the successful working of the present constitution in the Punjab has been due largely to the good team work which has been so remarkable a feature of the Provincial Cabinet. No difficulty, so far as I remember, has ever been experienced in finding a ministry or in keeping it in with the support of the legislature, and the ministry has always functioned harmoniously, like brothers in a happy family, with the reserved side of the Government, a record the more creditable in that the Province is one where sectional points of view are strongly held, and sometimes forcibly expressed. I have often thought that the Punjab Government has wisely modelled itself on one of the old Punjab regiments, where class companies—Punjabi Mussalmans, Sikhs and Hindu Dogras—under their company commanders, will vie with each other in friendly rivalry to win laurels for the regiment as a whole in the service of India and the Empire.

I have no doubt that the Ministers would be the first to acknowledge the help they have received from the various Services, which together form the great machine of Provincial Government. I have seen something of most of them : and, when all have given of their best, it might in normal times seem invidious to mention one branch

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

alone of the public service. But, in the circumstances of to-day, you will forgive me if I pay a special tribute to all ranks of the police, which the other services, especially those whose duty it is most closely to co-operate with them, will be the first to welcome and the last to grudge. Those circumstances have made it necessary to expand the strength of the police both in the Punjab and in other Provinces, and I am well aware of the readiness with which numbers of Army reservists drawn from your Province have come forward to undertake this duty. Their assistance has been of great value and has furnished new evidence of the loyalty, which is the tradition of their class. During recent months they have performed duties more than usually difficult and dangerous with the greatest gallantry and restraint, and I do not find it easy adequately to express my appreciation of all they have done.

Gentlemen, an occasion like to-night's is a forerunner of the time when Lady Irwin and I shall have to say goodbye to the many friends we have made in the Punjab and in India. It brings also very near a moment which will be one of sadness for us—the day on which we shall see Simla for the last time. I am glad to think that we shall leave it by what must be one of the most beautiful roads in the world, through the hill States between here and Dehra Dun. I know few people who are more to be envied for the beauty of their country than the Punjab Hill Chiefs whose territory surrounds Simla, and whose kindness and hospitality so many of us have enjoyed and—I may add—whose shooting preserves have afforded us many happy days. It will be a delightful climax to our life in Simla to spend a few more days in the woods and on the hills that we have learnt to love so well.

I shall carry away many other vivid recollections of the Punjab, but time will not permit me this evening to

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

linger over them. Sir Jogindra Singh has recalled the visit I paid to Lahore four years ago, and the Durbar in the Lahore Fort at which many of you were present. I have also been able to see something of your agriculture, your great irrigation works and the canal colonies, which are a standing tribute to your Irrigation service and whose development has transformed the desert plains of the Punjab ; I have come to know and admire the virile races that make up the population of the Province, and provide the Punjabi regiments with such a splendid type of fighting man. These are all things I shall remember, along with the unfailing kindness that I have received at the hands of your Punjabi people.

It is therefore a great pleasure to be able to meet so many Punjabis in one gathering, and, among many other reasons for which I count myself indebted to you for inviting me here this evening, is the occasion it affords me, at a critical time of India's history, to review the position of Government in relation to events, which now occupy the minds of all those concerned with the welfare of this country. In little more than a month from now representatives from all parts of India will meet His Majesty's Government in a Conference, which I trust may long be remembered as one of the landmarks of progress in the history of this country. It was of course inevitable that any selection I could make would meet with criticism, but I think Indian opinion generally, remembering that limits of size imposed obvious restrictions, and that the Conference will depend upon argument and agreement rather than upon voting strength, will give me credit for having done my best to find a team which might do justice to the several points of view of which we have to take account. That Conference will include no representative of one important political party in India, and

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

I confess that the refusal of that party to endeavour to make their contribution to discussions of such far-reaching consequence seems to me to betray a tragic lack of foresight and a bankruptcy of statesmanship. But, while deploring that wiser counsels have not prevailed, I do not think there can be much doubt on whose shoulders must rest the blame for the present position of affairs.

It is not necessary for me to trace the course of events which have culminated in the present civil disobedience movement, and I need go no further back than the beginning of this year. Throughout that period, though it has been both my duty and my will to affirm the fixed determination of my Government to fulfil their primary duty of maintaining justice and liberty, and to do everything in my power to support the servants and friends of Government, I have gone to the furthest lengths possible, further indeed than many critics have thought defensible, to hold open the door for reconciliation. You all know that, when Sir T. B. Saprú and Mr. Jayakar, acting entirely on their own initiative and inspired only by a fine sense of public duty, requested permission to visit the Congress leaders in jail in order to explore the possibilities of peace, that permission was readily accorded, and everything was done from the side of Government, at the risk of not a little misunderstanding, to facilitate their efforts. They spared themselves nothing in the task; private sorrows and private preoccupations were set aside, and I venture to say that they carried with them the good wishes of vast numbers of their fellow-countrymen. India owes them a very deep debt of gratitude. And what has been the response that was given in no uncertain terms only a few weeks ago? I do not think I exaggerate when I say that the reply amounted to a total and blank refusal to face present facts; it put forward demands

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

which made discussion impossible, and which could be explained only by a desire on the part of those concerned to reject any reasonable proposal that might lead to peace. There have it is true been hints from various quarters that the written word was more uncompromising than the actual views of some of the leaders warranted, and that private assurances by myself might supplement the open statement of the policy of Government. I have only the written word before me, and I am unable, as indeed I would consider it improper, to speculate how near this may be to the truth. But, in the very document on the strength of which Mr. Jayakar was encouraged to begin his attempt, it was suggested that I should give some such confidential undertaking. And it may be, as some have thought whose good faith I do not doubt, that assurances on certain points very material to the speedier restoration of peace might have been received, if I on my part had been ready to give assurances on the constitutional issue in private that I was not prepared to give in public. I must make it perfectly plain that that method is not one that ever has, or ever will, make any appeal to me. And that, as I think, for sufficient reasons. In the first place, I should have regarded it as quite incompatible with the preservation of the character of a so-called Free Conference, if His Majesty's Government, or I on their behalf, had so far prejudged the case, that this Free Conference was ostensibly to consider, by private assurances not disclosed. And, in the second place, I think that the constitutional future of India is a subject in which as far as possible the whole of India has a right to be consulted, and in regard to which it would be quite improper for His Majesty's Government or myself to enter into separate or secret engagements with a single political party, which, whatever its importance, is not and cannot claim to be the

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

whole of India. To have given any such private engagement, in order, as some might have hoped, to buy off the civil disobedience movement, would have been not less than a betrayal of all other parties in India, and above all of those who throughout these last troubled months have supported Government. This is no time, and the future of India is no subject, for secret diplomacy of this kind. I am quite willing to meet any attacks, and take any blame, for open mistakes of policy into which I or my Government may fall. I should be the last to claim that we have made none, or shall not make others. But I hope my severest critic here or elsewhere will never be able to charge me with having spoken with a different voice in private from that which I have employed in public utterances.

It was not therefore possible for me to do other than take the reply of the Congress leaders at its face value, and state quite frankly that it offered no basis of discussion. I believe that the great majority of informed and unprejudiced minds have deplored the breakdown ; though those who find cause for satisfaction in the present situation of the country may rejoice. For my own part I do not hesitate to say that those who direct the policy of Congress have assumed a heavy responsibility, for which history will assuredly not hold them guiltless. Count up the items in that responsibility and see what the balance is. On the economic side, great damage cruelly affecting thousands of their fellow-countrymen by restraint of their legitimate trade, and inflicting loss upon the country as a whole, from which it will take years to recover ; on the civic side, irreparable harm to the future citizens of India at their most impressionable age, by encouraging them in defiance of discipline to abandon their studies, and plunge with little or no knowledge into political controversy. And, generally, the encouragement of a spirit

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

of disregard and contempt for the law, which has not been slow to result, as anyone could have foreseen, in widespread and senseless damage to property, bodily injuries and not infrequently loss of life. As against all this, it may be claimed by its promoters that the movement has aroused national feeling, that it has caused some damage to British trade, and that it has impressed British and world opinion. It no doubt has, but scarcely I think in the direction that those who initiated it would desire. For British and foreign observers do not overlook the fact that the movement was launched at the very moment when the British Government had proclaimed its readiness to make a new approach to the problem by way of round table conversations, at which every point of view might have been freely ventilated. What the movement has achieved is to make the agreed solution, which everybody in their hearts knows is necessary, immeasurably more difficult.

It is a heavy count ; but I cannot absolve the Congress leaders of a responsibility even more grave than this. If ever there was a phrase, by which those who first employed it unconsciously sought to deceive themselves and others into a blind disregard of the certain consequences of their actions, that phrase is non-violent civil disobedience. Many of those who broadcasted that phrase from the platform or in the Press must have known the sinister harvest they would reap. Some of the wiser among them have striven by word and example to confine the agitation to peaceful and constitutional lines. Many, I know, by religious conviction and their sense of common humanity would shrink in their own practice from anything that involves danger to life or bodily hurt. I gladly give them all credit that is their due, and I do not think that anyone here will suspect me of confusing sincere national feeling with revolutionary or anarchical activities, or with any

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

other subversive action which, with its doctrine of contempt for the law, leads on so often to violence and bloodshed, and which relies continually on the exercise of some of the harshest forms of social and political tyranny and intolerance. But what is one to think of the attitude of those holding important positions in the Congress organisation, who are not ashamed openly to confess that the question whether or not to adopt a policy of violence is one of mere expediency and not of principle, that the issue is one to be judged not on moral but on practical grounds, and that, if the way of violence is to be rejected, it is only because it promises no substantial results? Argument on such lines is bound to be taken, especially by the young and ill-balanced, as a thinly-veiled invitation to put the matter to practical test. But, further, there have not been lacking impassioned appeals, made under the auspices of Congress and accompanied by public recognition of criminal acts, to the unthinking enthusiasm of youth. Men charged with murder have been eulogised as heroes, public meetings and demonstrations have been held in their honour, and their lives have been hailed as deserving of high admiration. Leaders who have on occasion uttered sentiments such as these, and whose official programme approves and has applauded the attempt to undermine the loyalty of troops and police, cannot be absolved if some of their followers go further along the road of violence than its leaders might themselves desire, or be prepared openly to encourage. There is little ground for surprise that, after training of this kind, recent months have witnessed acts of violence and outrage which have cost the lives of many gallant servants of Government and of which every true lover of his country cannot do other than feel ashamed.

Let me come back for a moment, however, to happier

Farewell Dinner given by the Members and Ministers of the Punjab Government to His Excellency the Viceroy.

things, and think what this country might achieve if all its energies were directed to the building of a strong and prosperous India on the new foundations, now in the process of being laid. To destroy is always easy, and in the very simplicity of destructive work lies both its danger and its attraction to ill-balanced minds. But, if from one quarter there has been this unhelpful attitude, it is gratifying to see that elsewhere—in the Punjab as in all other Provinces—efforts are being made to grapple with the problem of construction. What the architecture will be I do not here make bold to forecast, but that there will be builder's work for all to do is clear enough. And I am not unhopeful that in the sweat and labour which such a gigantic task will demand from all, in the engrossing interest of formulating great plans which one day will see fruition, there may be found at least a partial cure of the distempers which now have the country in their grip.

If those, who before many weeks are out, are to engage with British statesmen in these momentous deliberations, can agree on one broad and well-conceived constitutional plan, refusing to be distracted to the right or left by claims of party, creed, or unessential differences, I cannot doubt that in the outcome they will succeed in achieving something for India as great as anything that has been done in her whole history. They can feel content that they have chosen the path of truer patriotism in at least attempting to solve India's problem, instead of joining the ranks of those, whose contribution is confined to vituperation and denunciation of those with sounder public spirit than themselves. Of this at all events I am confident that, whatever the future may bring, the Punjab and its people in the task that faces them will play a part, worthy in all ways of a Province on whose strength and loyalty India will ever continue to rely.

Farewell Dinner to H. E. Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood.

I began by saying how much Lady Irwin and I had owed to the many friendships that the proverbial hospitality of India had permitted us to make. We shall both leave a large part of our hearts in India when the time comes for us to say good-bye to it, and we shall both hope that our Indian friends, who may in future visit England, will frequently give us the opportunity of refreshing those personal relations that will always remain our happiest memories of the time we were privileged to spend in India.

FAREWELL DINNER TO H. E. FIELD-MARSHAL SIR
WILLIAM BIRDWOOD.

24th Novem-
ber 1930.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Farewell Dinner given to H. E. Sir William Birdwood at Delhi on the 24th November :—

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I want presently to ask you to drink the health of the Commander-in-Chief and Lady Birdwood ; but before doing so there are a few things I should like to say.

There is no colleague from whom, if they have worked cordially and harmoniously together, a Viceroy more reluctantly parts than from the Commander-in-Chief, and never could a Viceroy have felt that more strongly than I feel it in the case of Sir William Birdwood. The fact that he succeeded to his post, on Lord Rawlinson's sudden death, a few months only before I became Viceroy, has permitted Lady Irwin and myself to count the Commander-in-Chief and Lady Birdwood among the closest of our friends, and has enabled me to draw freely during all that time upon his ripe experience and his accumulated knowledge of men and things.

The Commander-in-Chief, whoever be the incumbent of the office, rightly looms very large in the life of India. The instinct of India about the importance of defence

Farewell Dinner to H. E. Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood.

leads her to respect the person who is the official and responsible head of the system, on which defence depends. To the Indian Army, the Commander-in-Chief is the visible embodiment of all those converging loyalties and traditions, which make it what it is, and in the position they naturally accord to the Commander-in-Chief we see outward expression of the *esprit de corps*, belonging to units, and of the individual and corporate self-respect they rightly feel. And I think therefore that we ought to look jealously upon any proposals that might be made to replace the *personal* Commander-in-Chief by an *im-personal* system of administration.

If this is true generally of Commanders-in-Chief, it is doubly and trebly true of Sir William Birdwood. His hold on the affection of the Indian soldier is I fancy truly remarkable. At inspections he has a word for every Indian officer and for most of the men ; at gatherings of pensioners he displays, so I am told, the most intimate personal knowledge of fathers and grandfathers of those he meets ; so that indeed of many sepoys it might be said : " It's a wise child that knows his own father better than the Commander-in-Chief." He speaks habitually to troops in their own language—Punjabi, Pushtu, Gurkhali, and I know not how many more. I believe that it is genuine matter for surprise to Scottish Regiments that on similar occasions when he addresses them he sometimes lapses into plain English ! Old Indian Army officers have told me that there has been no similar relationship between the Commander-in-Chief and all ranks of the Indian Army since that which existed between them and Lord Roberts, and no one better than I knows how valuable this personal influence of the Commander-in-Chief has been during recent months.

Different Commanders-in-Chief have had different tasks to perform. Some like Lord Kitchener and Lord

Farewell Dinner to H. E. Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood.

Rawlinson have been concerned with wide schemes of reorganisation, and in Lord Rawlinson's case with far-reaching developments of Frontier policy. Sir William Birdwood took over the duties at a time when the reorganisation, suggested and undertaken on the heels of war and under the influence of memories still fresh, had to be permanently strengthened and established under conditions of thought rather different. The War was further away ; and some of the necessity of reorganisation was less plainly evident. Nor is reorganisation ever very pleasant. It necessarily means departure from custom and often from tradition and the sacrifice of much which has gathered round it the regard that only time can give. This was Sir William Birdwood's job and no one could have been better suited for it.

He brought to it the personal knowledge of men to which I have already referred, and, if I had to define the other qualities that have given him this particular strength, I should place first that power of sympathy, that has made him feel no grievance or request too small to take up personally, and has enabled him to find time to write the personal letter that, even if the request is refused, is evidence that it has been carefully considered. With this has gone that simplicity that so often seems a quality of great soldiers ; a natural courtesy and kindness of heart that mean much everywhere, but nowhere, I think, more than in India ; and that streak of imagination, which enables a man without effort to place himself in the position of those with whom he has to do.

He was thus able in his work to smooth off many rough places, through the general feeling among Indian officers and men that they could safely trust the judgment and actions of one who knew them and their problem so intimately.

Farewell Dinner to H. E. Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood.

But his personal influence has not been confined to soldiers. He has travelled more widely than any of his predecessors, doing perhaps sometimes more of his journeying on foot than his staff would have been inclined to favour, and everywhere he has gone in British India and the States he has made and left behind him friends. Only a short time ago he paid a visit to Nepal, and I am confident that no better ambassador could have been found to express the goodwill we feel for a country that is the home of some of our best fighting troops.

Of his military qualities, a layman is obviously incompetent to speak. We regard all Commanders-in-Chief as necessarily great, and feel that we can rely safely on the advice of one who has been called, no doubt on the recommendation of other distinguished soldiers, to fill one of the highest posts in His Majesty's forces. But there are few who were of an age to follow the events of the War, who have not learnt the name of Birdwood in association with the Anzac landing at Gallipoli. Many tales are current of his doings in the drama there enacted ; how he always seemed to have the knack of turning up among the men where the shelling was heaviest ; how scarcely a day passed without his visiting every part of the position held ; how he bathed with the men in the sea and when the Turks, as they sometimes did, began to shell, would seek safety, not by, with the rest, making for the shore, but by swimming out to sea. Or again, of the arts and wiles employed by him for the successful deception of the Turks, on which at the time of evacuation depended the lives of thousands of His Majesty's soldiers. Small wonder that he was loved by every man of his force, and that, whether true or not, the story that will be familiar to many here was passed round of a conversation between two Australian soldiers after a visit of the Corps Commander to the trenches. As was, I am told, his habit

Farewell Dinner to H. E. Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood.

he was indistinguishable by any of the outward marks of rank, and was in working shirt-sleeve dress. When he had passed, one Australian said to another who had failed to recognise him :

“ Don't you know Mr. Birdwood ? ”

“ Yes, but that wasn't him.”

“ It was.”

“ Then why the devil doesn't he wear feathers as any other bird would ! ”

In one of his despatches, Sir Ian Hamilton wrote some sentences that have become historic :—

“ Birdwood has been the Soul of Anzac. Not for one single day has he ever quitted his post. Cheery and full of sympathy he has spent many hours of each of the twenty-four inspiring the defenders of the front trenches, and if he does not know every soldier in his force at least every soldier in the force believes he is known to his Chief.”

I do not think any Commander of men could desire or receive higher praise.

The name of the Commander-in-Chief is thus a household word throughout the Empire. And if the memory of his part in these events was ever likely to fade, which I scarcely think it will, in other parts of the King's Dominions, it will assuredly remain green in the history of those days taught to every boy and girl in the schools of Australia.

At such a time as this you would I know feel that I had only half discharged my task, if I did not try to express something of the feeling that we entertain for Lady Birdwood. There can be no good cause in India that has ever appealed to her, without receiving most readily all

Aligarh Muslim University.

the encouragement and assistance that it was in her power to give. "Snowdon" at Simla and the Commander-in-Chief's House in Delhi have been indeed open-handed in their hospitality. And I know no one who has set a higher example of constant service of her fellow-creatures, in whatever ways circumstances brought to her hand, than Lady Birdwood. In no quarter can the King's recognition of good service have been more just than when he, to all our pleasure, recently awarded to Lady Birdwood Membership of the Crown of India.

Whether after the Commander-in-Chief has retired he will be permitted to enjoy a well-earned rest, in which perhaps he will be able to place on permanent record many of the things on which he is qualified to write, or whether one who has already rendered such yeoman service to the State will be called upon yet again to render more, time will decide. But in any case I know that both he and Lady Birdwood will leave behind them a memory of a great devotion to duty, and of many acts of kindness unostentatiously performed, and thousands of friends of all races and positions, who will deplore their departure, and whose best wishes and affection they will carry with them and always retain.

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY.

His Excellency the Viceroy visited the Muslim University at Aligarh on the 2nd December, and in reply to an address said :—

2nd Decem-
ber 1930.

Gentlemen,—A variety of circumstances has decreed that my visit to Aligarh should be postponed until the last few months of my time in India. There are however few educational institutions in this country for which I have felt greater solicitude and which I have been more eager to see with my own eyes. For I have always appreciated

Aligarh Muslim University.

the peculiar hold it possesses on the affections and loyalties of the great Muslim community in India. It is not too much I think to say that, for those Mussalmans who are most deeply concerned with the future of their community, Aligarh University is the focus of their hopes and the centre of their affections. It is a cause of genuine pleasure to me to know that by the kindness of the University Court my name is to be associated in permanent form with this institution. I shall never cease to take the warmest concern in its welfare, and I may add that the attempt to raise a fund, to which Syed Ross Masud has just referred, is one which I and my Government will watch with great interest and which will surely make its appeal to all those who hold the cause of education dear.

But, if I waited long before seeing Aligarh, there is at least one reason for being glad that I deferred my visit. And that is that we find today in the Vice-Chancellor's chair a grandson of the great Muslim patriot whose far-seeing vision and courageous idealism were responsible for the foundation of the College from which this University later sprang into life. I am deeply indebted to Syed Ross Masud for all that he has said today. It was indeed a fortunate day for the University, when they secured the services of one who had so greatly distinguished himself as an educational administrator in Hyderabad. And we may well contemplate how proud and happy his revered grandfather would have been to think that the torch of enlightenment he was handing on would be held one day by his own grandson, and that the family tradition of devotion to the cause of Muslim education should thus be perpetuated. It is, as Syed Ross Masud has just said, a matter for regret to us all that His Highness the Chancellor is not with us today. His Highness himself, as I have cause to know, would have given much to be here, for he has inherited from

Aligarh Muslim University.

his distinguished mother all her care and solicitude for the fortunes of this University.

On an occasion such as this, we cannot fail to be reminded of the loss the University has sustained in the untimely death of Mr. Horne, who, coming to this place as Pro-Vice-Chancellor in difficult times, had quickly won the respect and willing co-operation of his colleagues and the affection of the students. He brought rare gifts to the help of Aligarh, and by his death the University has been bereft of one who, had he lived, would have given to it of his best.

I do not propose to dwell at length on the troublous times through which the University has recently passed. As we know, the report of the Committee presided over by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola revealed certain defects in administration, organisation and teaching, and some may have temporarily lost heart at what seemed the eclipse of their brightest hopes. But the University authorities lost no time in laments or recrimination. They took up the work of reform with courage, and it is a matter for great congratulation that those responsible for the guidance of the University had the determination to realise the need for action and to apply the necessary remedy. It is a matter I say for congratulation but not I think for surprise. Courage and determination are now—as history shows them to have been in the past—features that are not often lacking in the Muslim character. Misfortunes may test but they cannot destroy his constructive ability or quench his spirit ; rather they call forth his loyalties and are the rallying cry for all those who see in them the opportunity of higher service to a cause that they hold dear. I could mention many names, and I should like on this occasion specially to refer to the devoted labours of Sir Shah Muhammad Suleiman, who assumed the office of Vice-Chancellor in critical and very difficult circumstances at a time when his own

Aligarh Muslim University.

official duties were unusually exacting. All credit is due to him and to many others for the earnestness with which they have grappled with their task, and there is now no reason I can see why the graduate of Aligarh should not be the equal of any graduate in India. And I can assure you, with reference to what your Vice-Chancellor said towards the close of his address, that I will do everything in my power to ensure that the claims of old Aligarh students for employment in Government or other services receive the fullest consideration.

Nor am I unmindful of the attitude adopted by the Aligarh students when the civil disobedience movement was at its height. At a time when the work of some other Universities was brought to a standstill by picketing, this University resisted all efforts made to undermine its discipline. Disruptive influences might easily have wrought their insidious harm, but the students of Aligarh remained staunch, not because of any lack of the high spirit or enthusiasm that is one of the best endowments of youth, but simply because of their own good sense and loyalty to their *Alma Mater*. They showed that discipline at Aligarh is not merely something imposed from above or from without, but something intelligently and deliberately accepted by the student-body as a necessary condition of healthy life and work in the University.

May I presume today to urge all those who share in the life of this institution to deviate no whit from the course which they have set before themselves? If they keep steadily before them the aims which have recently guided their policy, if they will insist on a high standard of qualification for matriculation and degrees, if they can ensure concord and harmony in administration and vigour in their intellectual and corporate life, I feel confident that they will in the fulness of time achieve

Aligarh Muslim University.

success and confer an inestimable boon upon the whole Muslim community of India. For I suppose that there was never a time in their history when that community stood in greater need than they stand today of men well and truly trained for leadership. It was the dream of Sir Syed Ahmed that the College which he founded should equip for this purpose men who would assure for Muslims a position in modern India worthy of their best traditions, and would maintain for them their social and religious unity. Could he have foreseen the changes which since then have come over the political face of India, he would have felt doubly sure that in the ideals for which he strove were bound up not only the best interests of his community, but the surest means of equipping it for all the responsibilities of Indian citizenship.

All however cannot be leaders, and, though the considerations I have mentioned must largely influence the aims of those who direct the policy of any University, it is natural that parents and students should be more immediately interested in matters which appear to them to be more pressing. Theirs is the anxious problem of employment, and they cannot be blamed if their first demand of a University is that it should equip its students to earn a living honourably. But, if the conditions of success for the achievement of this practical and immediate object are examined, it will I think be found that in this sphere too success lies in steady adherence to the policy of maintaining high academic standards. There was a time when a university degree in India was a certain passport to employment, when the qualifications for admission and the standards of examination were kept at a level low enough to ensure the entrance into the universities of all ambitious young men, and the methods of teaching most appreciated were those which would ensure for them a degree with the minimum of

Aligarh Muslim University.

effort. But with the rapidly increasing output from our Universities—the United Provinces alone turn out over 1,600 graduates each year—the old qualifications for employment no longer hold. If degrees are to ensure material prospects, they must be a guarantee of high attainment in the subjects which have been studied, must certify that the graduate is able to think for himself and form his own judgments, and must imply that he has acquired by contact with his fellow students in life, in the hostels and on the playing-fields, those qualities—physical energy, initiative, and ability to get on with others—which in any sphere of practical activity are often of even greater value than intellectual gifts.

I do not think therefore that the insistence upon a high academic standard which I have advocated is really in conflict with the immediate practical aims which, as I say, many parents and students are forced to set before themselves. Especially, I believe, is this true today of Muslim education. There is certainly leeway to be made up, but given the will to advance, and given an assurance that they themselves will be satisfied with no inadequate standard, I am confident that Muslims as a whole will reach a level of attainment which will compare not unfavourably with that achieved by any other community.

What I have just said is a commonplace, and I know that Muslims keenly desire that advance in education which will allow them to compete on level terms with others for posts in the public services. The case however has so often been stated in this way that we may perhaps sometimes be in danger of giving the impression that success in such competition is the one goal which Muhammadan education sets before itself. No one would of course seriously suggest that the achievement of this end alone could ever be an ideal lofty and satisfying enough to spur the young men either of the

Annual Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Raipur.

Muhammadian or of any other community to scale the mountain peaks of learning. The ideal which I would urge you to set before you is so to develop the intellect and the character of Muhammadian youth that, as they pass from school to college and from college out through the gateway into the battlefield of life, they may find themselves properly equipped for the fray, with their armour bright, and feel the ground solid beneath their feet. If they have learnt well, they will surely have learnt among other things the desire to learn more ; they will leave this University not merely with a store of knowledge, but with brain alert and firm purpose in their hearts, ready to take up the duties of the higher citizenship to which I just now made reference, in whatever sphere of the common life of India they may be called upon to play their part.

I earnestly pray that the influence of this great Muslim University as generation succeeds to generation may be unceasingly exercised for the good of India and her people. Success or failure in this high mission must rest principally in the hands of those who will teach and learn here during these next years, and if success is theirs I cannot doubt that all, who have shared in its achievement, will have deserved well of this present generation, and will have assured for their names an honourable and abiding place in the halls of memory.

ANNUAL PRIZE-GIVING AT THE RAJKUMAR
COLLEGE, RAIPUR.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Annual Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College at Raipur on the 7th December :—

7th December 1930.

Mr. Principal, Your Excellency, Ruling Chiefs, Kumars, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has been a very

Annual Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Raipur.

great pleasure to Lady Irwin and myself to be able to be here today. We feel as if we have been pleasantly introduced into a very delightful family party and, on our behalf and on behalf of those who have come with me, I wish to express our great gratitude both to those who invited us here—to the Ruling Chiefs who have entertained us with such lavish hospitality—and to all who have contributed to making our visit to the College so pleasant and enjoyable. I think myself very fortunate that I should have been the first Viceroy to have the opportunity of paying such a visit, and still more fortunate that I should have been the indirect means of securing you such generosity from your good friends.

I had heard a great deal about the College before I came here. But, as seeing is better than hearing, I shall go away with a much higher appreciation of what the College has done and is doing. It is with great interest that I listened to the history of the College which the Principal gave in his speech, and not the least part of that interest attached to what formed the concluding part of his observations, namely, financial questions that affect the College so closely. I am afraid he knows, as well as I know, and as Sir Montagu Butler knows, that finance in these days is a very difficult question for everybody. Everybody wants money out of Government and Government has not got as much money as it used to have or as it would like to have. But, although the question is not yet finally settled, I can offer Mr. Stow a very good hope that we shall be able to come in some degree to his financial assistance. I have been very pleased for another reason to come to the College today, in that I have been able to do so under the auspices, so to speak, of Sir Montagu Butler, who has been so good a friend to the College for many years. I only regret that Sir Hugh Stephenson should have

Annual Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Raipur.

been unavoidably prevented from being present also in this great gathering.

I have just given away a great many prizes and I hope that those who have got them are very pleased to have got them, and I hope that those who have been unfortunate enough not to get them are not too disappointed. If I may make a personal confession, when I was at school I only got one prize in the whole of the ten years that I was at school, and I remember thinking it very unfortunate at the time. But I would remind those who have not yet got prizes that, if they have been behind in this lap of the race, there are a good many more laps to run and, in a sense, the matter of competition and the opportunities of winning prizes do not finish when you leave school but go on all your lives. I sometimes think that our time at school may be likened to the preliminaries undertaken by explorers, such for instance as those who attempt to climb Mount Everest or Kinchinjunga. Before they start off on their journey, they collect all material and information, and when all these preliminary jobs are done then only do they start on their journey. In the same way you Kumars will be setting out on a big journey,*some soon, some later, and I hope that when you leave the College you will have learnt, as I am sure you will, two things that are of great value. One is to work hard and the other is to play hard. I am sure that if you do both these things you will find that not only your time here is very much pleasanter, but that your time on the bigger journey outside will also be very much pleasanter. Someone said that genius is only an infinite capacity for taking pains. In the same way if you take pains in your games, your sports and everything else, and if you play them as hard as you can, you will find that you learn as much from them as from your work. You will learn, if I may say

Annual Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Raipur.

so, how to ride over the difficult fences and overcome the obstacles that come in your lives.

That is all, I think, that I really want to say except perhaps this one observation. I think the older ones among you Kumars, and even some of the younger ones, will realise that when you leave this College a great deal will be expected of you. Some of you will in time become Rulers and to these I would say—Remember that when you are Rulers it is to you that your people will look for those gifts of character, judgment and wisdom, which they have a right to expect of you and which this College will have placed you in the way of acquiring. To those who will not be rulers I would offer this word of advice : Do not be afraid to try and strike out into the bigger world and find larger careers for yourselves, as Kumar Ram Saran Singh has done. There are many other ways in which you could do it and you will find you will live very much more useful lives than if you are simply content to live on in the homes where you have always lived up to now. And to all of you who leave the College I say, do your best so to live, when you have passed beyond the College, that the College will never cease to be proud of you, and that, as you look back over your life, you will be able to say—“I have tried to repay to the College what the College gave to me.”

Now I have taken a great liberty. I have asked the Principal whether the Kumars may have a week's holiday in honour of my visit, and he has said that he would be very pleased indeed. I am not sure that he does not himself find some attraction in the thought of a week's holiday. He will, therefore, arrange this at what seems to be the most suitable time to fit in with the school's work. It only remains for me to hope that you will enjoy it and to wish you the best of luck throughout your lives.

ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE SERAMPORE
COLLEGE.

His Excellency the Viceroy had to cancel at the last moment his engagement to preside over the Convocation of the Serampore College on December 13th. The following speech, which he had intended to deliver, was read on his behalf by the Most Revd. the Metropolitan of India :—

13th Decem-
ber 1930.

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me today to visit a college which, both for the place it holds in history and for the part it has played and is still playing in the educational life of Bengal, must have an almost unique appeal for those who are interested in the welfare of the young generation of India's citizens. A century and more has passed since it was established by the first Baptist missionary to India, of revered memory, and I am glad to have this opportunity of paying a tribute to the far-seeing vision, which inspired the birth of this institution, and to the devotion which has brought it to its present state.

Since those early days the history of Serampore College has been one of devoted and unflagging effort ; it has seen changes of fortune and changes of system, and now has once more been re-organised on the lines laid down by those great pioneers of missionary and educational effort, Carey, Marshman and Ward. For this reorganisation it is indebted above all to the inspiration and energy of Dr. Howells, whose name is written large on the scroll of those who have served the college well. I can appreciate how great a loss his retirement last year must have meant to you ; but he has bequeathed his charge to trusted hands, and I am confident that with equal zeal and equal faith Mr. Angus and his colleagues will carry on the high traditions of Serampore.

For all of us, I suppose, a University Convocation provokes many thoughts and calls up many associations. Some will look back to the day—all too long ago—at our

Annual Convocation of the Serampore College.

own Universities, when by good luck or good management we had outwitted our examiners, and the hood was first thrown upon our own shoulders. Or we may be thinking what today means to those of you who are just reaching the end of your University career, and now go out into the world to put to the test the knowledge you have gained, and the qualities of character you have formed. May you never regret the years you have passed here or give cause to your University to remember you with any feelings but those of proud affection.

A convocation too—with all that it implies in the kind of impress it sets upon those who are now receiving their degrees—is the justification or otherwise of the education which a University provides. It is not without some trepidation that I approach this subject, or attempt to speak of the true function of education. For I see that a great authority Mr. Mayhew has recently told us that it is only the professional educationalist who really appreciates what educational problems mean, and in the same breath says that “in India there has been no subject on which Viceroy and Governors have expressed their views with more ease and eloquence !” Much certainly has been written and said about the purpose of education in the modern world. But, though its outward forms may vary, its essential object remains. For life, though conditioned by material elements, is a spiritual business, and what we may call the material aspect of education—the training of the young for the bar, for technical professions, for Government service, or for business—is stunted and incomplete without the spiritual, cultural, and ethical background on which our ideas and actions really rest. These are the all-embracing conditions of our lives, and, take it for all in all, they are the true test of the education a man has received. It is at

Annual Convocation of the Serampore College.

such a tribunal that a University will be ultimately judged. For, though in these respects our upbringing began for us long before we were even schoolboys, a University life is for those who are fortunate enough to have shared in it perhaps the most critical as well as the most fruitful time of their career. It is about that age that we begin to realise what a serious business life is going to be ; we find that the dull stuff that we have been learning possibly has some value after all, and we bring what we have learnt of history, philosophy, literature and so on more and more into relation with the general life we see all about us.

As you now know, a University gives priceless opportunities for comparing mental notes on all these subjects. When you are thrown, as you are during your time at a University, into the company of other people, young or old, who are thinking out the same sort of problems, you are placed as it were in a kind of clearing house of knowledge, where the contact of mind with mind is at work on ideas, trying out the old and giving birth to new. It may be contact through books and study with minds ancient or modern ; or the exchange of thought with teachers or fellow-students. All the time we are clarifying our values ; finding that some things we thought gold are dross, and something we thought worthless a thing of untold price.

And this, if a University is fulfilling its proper function, is true both of culture and of character. In the sphere of culture you should be sorting out what is specious and what is genuine in literature, in art, and in thought ; in the sphere of character, what is true and what is false ; acquiring the power of independent judgment, but basing it on something wider than your own observation and experience. There are things no doubt

Annual Convocation of the Serampore College.

in which we have to trust ultimately to our own judgment and conscience ; but we have no right or status to judge unless we have first studied and appraised the judgments of others, any more than we should have the right to umpire at a cricket match if we knew nothing of the established rules of the game.

If the function of a University is something like what I have tried to suggest, I feel little hesitation in believing that Serampore College stands high in the rank of such institutions. It was, if I remember right, the hope of its Founders that the college should be, as they put it, " a union of piety and learning ". If, as I think we are all agreed, no education is even half complete which does not go hand in hand with the training of character, the religious background of your education here must have inestimable value. For the ideals which condition moral progress are meaningless if they have no relation to religious belief, and I have little doubt that many non-Christian students of Serampore would be the first to acknowledge their debt to a foundation whose first object has always been to spread the light of the Christian religion.

Before I conclude may I then offer a word of God-speed to those who are today receiving their Divinity degrees. They will be shortly offering themselves to many forms of Christian service, as Pastors of Churches, Priests, Missionaries and teachers. In all their various fields of effort their thoughts will often turn back to Serampore in wistful and grateful memory. They will discover in fuller measure as the years pass what they owe to its influence, to the corporate life they led here with its common ideals, which all communities were able to share and make their own. And they will make the fullest return to their old College, by using always to the best advantage what it has taught them, in the service of their brother men.

OPENING OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on the 15th December :—

15th Decem-
ber 1930.

I need hardly say what very great pleasure it gave me to receive the invitation of the Associated Chambers of Commerce to take part in their opening meeting today. It is the third, though I fear the last, occasion on which I have the privilege of addressing your body, and it will always in years to come be one of my pleasantest recollections of Calcutta that I have been able here to meet and to make friends with so many members of the great European commercial community.

I must thank you at the outset, Mr. President, for the very kind way in which you have bidden me welcome this morning and I know that His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, whose name you have coupled with mine, will join me in this expression of gratitude. I often feel that a Viceroy owes a Governor of Bengal an apology at this time of the year for robbing him of opportunities, such as today's, of speaking to audiences who wish to hear him on subjects in which the present Governor is so much at home. But I think it possible that Sir Stanley himself, if we could probe his inner feelings, would confess that he is sometimes quite glad to sit in the pavilion and watch some less skilled hand going out to bat.

You have just mentioned Mr. President the close concern with which the commercial community follows the development of the political situation in India and you have given expression to views, which I think are shared by all reasonable people, on the policy which has recently been adopted by certain organisations in the country. I shall have further opportunities, while I am in Calcutta, of speaking on some of these subjects, and

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

I will say no more this morning than to acknowledge with much appreciation the references you have made to the Government of India's despatch upon constitutional reforms, and the desire you have expressed to assist, in a spirit of good-will, the solution of the difficult problems which today face the country.

When I turn to the matters with which your Chambers are more intimately concerned, my first reflection is that, in these days when Governments have grown accustomed to a larger share of kicks than half-pence, it is more than refreshing to listen to Mr. Laird's spontaneous appreciation of the help which, in one or two ways, my Government has recently been able to give to the commercial community. I can assure you that the Members of my Council who have come to attend your present Session will do all they possibly can to assist you in the matters which are to be dealt with in the resolutions on your paper. But the subject which at the present moment overshadows all others is the general depression which has affected almost every branch of commerce and industry in nearly every country of the world. An unkind friend has reminded me that, when I addressed your meeting two years ago, I ventured on the statement that the general position gave good ground for sober optimism. Well, I am afraid there is not very much comfort to be drawn now from the recollection of that prophecy, unless it is perhaps that it shows the wisdom of sobriety in optimism as well as in other activities of life.

For a year or so after that meeting of 1928, it is true, the position showed no great change for the worse, but the Wall Street collapse of October 1929 proved to be the beginning of a period of acute and world-wide depression. India has suffered with the rest, and the returns of sea-borne trade for British India for the first six months of the present financial year show a fall of

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

no less than 28 per cent. in value of imports and 21 per cent. in exports, compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. I could quote similar figures for many other countries of the world, but rows of statistics are apt to be a soporific even to the most intelligent and best-mannered audience, and it is enough to say that the trade returns of the United States of America, Japan, Italy and Canada show that those countries have suffered even more severely than India.

One symptom of these depressed conditions has been a world-wide fall in the prices of wholesale commodities, and, as was inevitable, India has felt the full brunt of this collapse, which is most pronounced in the case of her chief exports, agricultural products and raw materials. It is, I suppose, of the usual order of things in a depression of this kind that the price of raw products falls more sharply than that of manufactured goods. In a year of good harvests there is no possibility of limiting production, for, once the seed is in the ground, the matter passes beyond the farmer's control, whereas industrial establishments can be slowed down and the supply thus, partially at least, adjusted to demand. The consequent slump in agricultural prices tends to fall first upon agricultural labour, which is unorganised and unlike industrial labour is in no position to resist wage reduction. In the natural sequence the troubles of industrial countries come probably at a later date, when the purchasing power of the agricultural countries is reduced and the demand for manufactured goods begins to wane. Sooner or later a number of industries must either cease work or reduce their hours, and the numbers of unemployed mount. Thus the extent and the widespread nature of the present dislocation of trade is reflected in the very high figures of unemployment in different countries—over 2 millions in the United Kingdom, 3 millions in Germany and probably at least as many in the United States of America.

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

In a calamity of this magnitude there must always be a good deal of speculation as to the causes which have led to it. In some cases, such as the fall in price of sugar and rubber, there can be no question that there has been over-production in the full sense of the word ; that the world cannot use all the rubber which is being produced, without a large increase in the number of motor cars on the roads or substitution of cheap rubber for some of the materials of which many of the common requirements of life are today supplied, and that the world could not eat all the sugar that is being produced, without grave danger of indigestion, or whatever ills physicians may attribute to an excess of glucose. In the case of cotton, on the other hand, under-consumption seems to be quite as much to blame as over-production. China and India are the two great markets for cotton goods, and for years past the Chinaman seems to have been economising more in clothes than in civil wars, and has been buying much less than his normal requirements. This year too India's purchasing power has been limited not only by the fall in the price of her prime agricultural commodities, but also by the disturbed political conditions. In the case of wheat, it is perhaps the most difficult of all to diagnose with confidence the causes of the situation. It is curious that the fall in price immediately succeeded poor harvests in three of the principal wheat-exporting countries, Canada, Australia and the Argentine, and it is not so obvious therefore to attribute the slump in prices to over-production. What would appear actually to have happened is that for three or four years earlier the production of wheat had tended to be in excess of the demand, but the full effect was obscured by the action taken in various countries to hold the surplus off the market, and particularly by the wheat pools in Canada. The result was that the stimulus to a reduction in the acreage under wheat was absent, and in 1929 the constitution of the Federal Farm Board in the United States of America

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

made matters worse by removing further wheat supplies from the market. The final result is that there is now in existence a large quantity of surplus wheat, some of which was originally held up by the Farm Board and the wheat pools in the hope of securing better prices, and some of which the producers, as for example in the Punjab, are compelled to hold, because no one will buy it.

I have said enough, I think, to make the point clear that the hard times we have been having in India are, in their origin, due to world-wide causes. But, in saying that, I by no means absolve the present civil disobedience movement from its own heavy share of responsibility. It has immeasurably aggravated the situation both by the boycott directed against the trade in foreign, and particularly British, goods, and indirectly by creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and unrest. The direct methods employed in Bombay have, as you know, resulted in the closing of several mills and the unemployment of a large number of mill-hands. The boycott on the sale of foreign cloth in Bombay and other parts of the country has not only caused serious losses to merchants, owing to their capital being locked up in unsaleable commodities, but in doing so has prevented them from replacing their stocks of foreign cloth by the indigenous article. Handloom weavers are in distress for lack of the fine foreign yarns necessary to the production of some of their materials, and the Indian cotton grower has suffered because this political unrest, by reducing the consumption both of Indian and foreign cotton cloth, has caused a further decline in the price of the Indian raw material.

You can well realise, gentlemen, that during the last few months this economic crisis has been the subject of anxious consideration both by the Government of India and by Provincial Governments. The general conclusion we have reached is I think that, in view of the complex

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

character of world conditions, whatever share of responsibility may be attributed to the collective unwisdom of all the Governments in the world put together, there was very little that any one Government could do to avert the crisis or to alleviate its consequences. It may indeed well be held that action by Governments in other countries has sometimes had the effect of postponing a crisis, only at the expense of aggravating its severity when it could no longer be averted. In some countries, as we have seen, agriculturists have been assisted by Government or by commercial associations to keep supplies temporarily off the market until prices had improved, and proposals on these lines have been repeatedly pressed upon the Government of India in recent months, and particularly in the case of jute and cotton. We examined these proposals with all possible care and with every desire to help, but in the end our conclusion was that, whilst schemes of this nature may be of value to counteract minor fluctuations, they are not only powerless against large movements of world prices, but may actually be mischievous, in so far as they retard the operation of those corrective economic forces which alone can have a permanent effect on prices. Sir George Schuster in a speech at the Financial Secretaries' Conference last August dealt exhaustively with the experience of other countries in which such schemes have been tried, and I need not go at length into the arguments on either side. But the practical results, in the United States, in Egypt, in Canada and Brazil, are visible for all to see. None of their schemes have been able to prevent the recent catastrophic fall in commodity prices, and my Government are convinced that any similar attempt in India would be equally barren of results, and would probably only result in placing a heavy financial burden on the public purse, a burden which does not rest upon the air but which must inevitably fall on the taxpayer, the very person whom it is desired to benefit.

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

Another measure which has been strongly urged upon my Government, and on which I see a resolution is to be moved at your forthcoming meeting, is the reduction of railway freights with a view to alleviating the plight of the cultivator. We fully realise the importance of this proposal and the necessity of assuring the agriculturist that we should naturally look with favour on any scheme designed to help him, and we have in fact had under our consideration specific proposals of this kind with regard to wheat and cotton. I should however be unwilling to anticipate the discussion which will take place on the Resolution in the paper, and I would limit my observations to two or three salient points. A reduction in railway rates would certainly not be open to the serious objections which seem conclusive against any scheme for maintaining or raising prices by withholding crops from the market. On the contrary, in so far as the reduction promoted the export of Indian products and thereby reduced the stocks on hand, the effect must be beneficial. On the other hand, due weight must be given to the difficulties which those responsible for the commercial administration of the railways feel in making wholesale reduction of rates at a time when railway traffic, and consequently railway revenue, has fallen off seriously, and a deficit of Rs. 7 or 8 crores in the Railway Budget is anticipated. Each proposed reduction has to be considered on its own merits, and in each case the prospective gain to the cultivator must be weighed against the loss involved to the railway revenues, that is ultimately to the Indian taxpayer, who is the principal proprietor of the railways. It must be remembered also that the rates on agricultural products generally, and especially on grain and pulses, are already so low that there is not the same room for reduction for them as there may be in some other countries. At the same time, Government has not approached the problem in any narrow spirit. The question whether a reduction in rates will lead to an

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

increase in traffic is one which must always be considered, but in addition Government will constantly keep in view the fact that the cultivator is the client of the railways not only in respect of what he sells but also of what he buys, and that any addition to his purchasing power which may accrue as the result of reductions in freight will to some extent benefit the railways owing to the increase in the inward traffic.

The communiqué which we issued a week or two ago gave at some length our views on the proposal that freights on cotton might be reduced, and the Railway Board is now engaged on this specific question. The concession already granted on wheat freights to Karachi will, we hope, assist the cultivator to a considerable degree, especially in Northern India. The proposal has also been made that a similar reduction should be allowed in freights to Calcutta, and, though this question presents much greater difficulty, I am hopeful that it may be possible also to take early action on these lines. Any counsel on these or any kindred subjects which you may wish to offer to my Member for Commerce, Sir George Rainy, or to receive from him in return will, I am sure, be warmly welcomed on both sides.

When I opened your proceedings two years ago, I expressed the hope that an Agricultural Research Council on the lines recommended by the Royal Commission would be established in the near future. That hope has, as you know, been fulfilled, and the Council has now been at work for over a year. Among other activities it has taken up seriously the important question of improving the Indian Sugar Industry, and has made grants for a systematic study of all its branches, besides initiating the proposal which has resulted in the Tariff Board's enquiry into the case for fiscal protection of the sugar trade. Another of the many schemes which the Research Council has set on foot is the large co-ordinated scheme of

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

research on rice, designed both to improve the quality of Indian rice and to increase the efficiency of production of this most important of all India's food crops. The Council too has given agriculture substantial assistance in one unexpected quarter, by helping the people of Northern and Western India to fight the plagues of locusts which have recently caused such damage, and they are, I think, entitled to full credit for the protective schemes they have worked out to cope with these air-raids from the North-West.

One other matter to which I referred two years ago was the formation of a Jute Committee. Our proposals for setting on foot and providing funds for this Committee have received a wide measure of acceptance, but it would seem that there has been some misunderstanding as to its scope. It is clear from their Report that what the Royal Commission intended was that the Committee should do for the jute industry exactly what the Indian Central Cotton Committee has done so successfully for the cotton industry during the last 10 years. In addition to being concerned with agricultural and technological research for the improvement of the jute industry; the provision of superior strains of seed, the improvement of statistics, the dissemination of information and economic studies into the marketing of jute, with special reference to the improvement of primary marketing by the grower, the Committee will form a meeting ground for all sections of the jute trade and industry, where problems of common interest can be discussed and solutions sought. The Royal Commission did not intend, nor do my Government propose, that it should usurp any of the functions which properly belong to a trade Association, or that it should be given any regulating powers. Where the interests of the cultivator can be shown to call for a change in trade practice, it would be for the Central Jute Committee to

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

convince the trade Associations concerned of the desirability and feasibility of the change, and, if the experience of the Indian Central Cotton Committee is any guide, I believe that the trade will be by no means deaf to an appeal from such an authoritative source. My Government hope to take early steps to bring into being the necessary machinery to give effect to their decision.

My speech on this occasion would be incomplete without a reference to the gracious action of His Majesty the King-Emperor in opening India House in London last July. I feel confident that India House will worthily represent India in the Capital of the Empire, and will prove a real centre in London for all Indian purposes. It is already attracting business visitors in large numbers, and it cannot fail greatly to assist the work of the Trade Department under the immediate control of the Indian Trade Commissioner in London. It also provides exceptional opportunities for publicity in the Exhibition Hall in which are displayed to great advantage some of the arts and crafts of India. I also hope that in the near future it will be possible to organise in India House a fully equipped Commercial Samples Room to be used for the exhibition of all classes of Indian goods.

It has been, I know, a matter of great personal satisfaction to Sir Atur Chatterjee that the new India House should have been completed during his term of office as High Commissioner. When Sir Atul hands over charge next year to an old colleague of my own and to an old friend of this Chamber, Sir B. N. Mitra, he will have held the post with distinction for 6 years, and I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging publicly his great services as High Commissioner, and not least the part he has played on our behalf in the manifold international activities of Geneva.

Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

Before I leave this subject I should like to call attention to the progress achieved in recent years by the Indian Trade Commissioner and his staff in the sphere of publicity, and to acknowledge the generous co-operation and assistance given by the Empire Marketing Board in propaganda work directed to increase the consumption of Indian goods in the United Kingdom. I am thinking in particular of the support given by the Board to the Indian rice campaign instituted in the United Kingdom in the autumn of 1929, the object of which was to assist Indian and Burma rice in meeting the competition experienced in recent years from rice grown in Italy, Spain and other countries.

I leave you now, Gentlemen, to the serious purpose of your meeting. I feel indeed that I have been playing the part of the orchestra that precedes a play at the theatre, when the principal anxiety of the audience is that the curtain may be rung up as speedily as possible on the real business of the evening. They are, however, too polite to say so. But before I sit down may I as your very warm well-wisher and friend say just one thing more. The foundation and the strength of British commerce is in British character, in the trustworthiness that inspires confidence in others, and in the courage which meets obstacles with the assured determination to overcome them. Of your ability to come triumphantly through the present crisis I entertain no doubt. You have had your share of rich years, and no doubt like all good business men are prepared to meet the lean. But looking further into the future I feel confident that those same qualities which have given Britain the position she holds in commerce, at home, in the Dominions and Colonies, and in foreign countries, have still their indispensable part to play in the future of India's commercial life. And in taking leave of you, on the last occasion when I shall be in your midst, I am not afraid to predict a long and

Unveiling of the bust of the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose.

happy continuance, of those commercial relations between this country and our own, which have brought wealth and prosperity to both, and so great a measure of happiness to countless numbers of both peoples.

UNVEILING OF THE BUST OF THE LATE SIR RASH
BEHARI GHOSE.

16th Decem-
ber 1930.

In unveiling the bust of the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose at the High Court, Calcutta, on the 16th December, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Mr. Chief Justice, Members of the Calcutta Bench and Bar, and Gentlemen,—When Sir Rash Behari Ghose died ten years ago it was rightly said of him that the Court had lost a great counsellor and the country a true benefactor. It is eminently fitting that in this place, where as a man he was held in such affection and esteem, and where as a jurist he occupied a place unique among a great company of distinguished lawyers, he should be commemorated by the bust which I am today privileged to unveil.

To my loss, it was never my fortune to know Sir Rash Behari Ghose, and many of you, among whom his memory is green, could have done fuller justice than I to the personal qualities, which earned for him deep and lasting friendships. But, from the testimony of some of those friends, I know that he was a great and accomplished gentleman, outspoken in manner but tender at heart and full of that natural sympathy, which is perhaps the greatest of man's endowments.

Of his achievements in the realm of law and public life it is not difficult to speak. His early academic successes led on to his selection at the age of 29 as Tagore Professor of Law, and it was then that he first imparted form to a subject, then inchoate, of which he was to

Unceiling of the bust of the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose.

become the acknowledged master—the Law of Mortgage in British India. His professional career was in some ways unique in the history of the Indian Bar, and good judges have held him to be the greatest jurist that India has produced. It was once said of him by one whose opinion we may trust “There is not a single individual in the whole country who does not bow to the learned Doctor’s superior knowledge of law”. An erudite scholar, Sir Rash Behari found perennial delight in the company of authors old and new, and his advocacy was distinguished not only by its depth of learning but by the richness of its style.

Though Sir Rash Behari Ghose had served since 1888 in the Bengal Legislative Council, and later in the Indian Legislative Council, he was attracted to the forefront of political life by the announcement of the partition of Bengal in 1904, and thereafter he took a prominent part in current controversies. Rightly trusted for the sagacity of his opinion and admired for the brilliance of his oratory, he quickly acquired a leading influence in this sphere of public life. In 1920 he was elected to—but through illness was unable ever to attend—the first Council of State under the reformed constitution.

His public services in the cause of education form a record which can have been surpassed by few. His personal connection with the Calcutta University dated from 1879, when he was first nominated a Fellow of that body, and only terminated with his death, after long years of service. Scientific education in particular claimed his interest, for with keen foresight he realised that scientific knowledge must precede, or at any rate accompany, that development of industry in India which is essential to her economic weal. In this cause he spent by far the greater part of his fortune, for his munificence included such vast gifts as Rs. 27 lakhs to the Calcutta University, and Rs. 25 lakhs to the National Council of

*Laying of the Foundation-stone of the new Headquarters
Building of the Institution of Engineers (India).*

Education, besides many smaller—but yet large—benefactions.

It is a privilege I value highly to have been asked to participate today in this tribute to one, who from a full store of knowledge and wisdom gave so much to the service of his fellow-countrymen. Much in his life will remain an inspiration to those who occupy the stage that he has left, to those who study or who practise the Law, to those who are charged with the upbringing of the young and to those whose ways lie in the wider field of public life. All these, and many others who knew the man and his works, will rejoice to know that this lasting honour is being done in the place where he himself would assuredly have wished to be remembered to one of whom it may indeed be said that he deserved well of his motherland.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE NEW
HEADQUARTERS BUILDING OF THE INSTITUTION
OF ENGINEERS (INDIA).

19th Decem-
ber 1930.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new Headquarters Building of the Institution of Engineers (India) at Calcutta on the 19th December :—

Gentlemen,—You have just reminded us, Mr. President, of an occasion a little more than two years ago when, by the hospitality of your Association, I was privileged to meet many of your members in Delhi, and thus to obtain a more direct and more personal acquaintance with your activities than I had previously enjoyed. I retain very pleasant memories of that meeting, and I remember that I then tried to assure you of the warm interest I would retain in the future growth and fortunes of your Institution. You will know, therefore, that it affords me

*Laying of the Foundation-stone of the new Headquarters
Building of the Institution of Engineers (India).*

keen pleasure that before my departure from India it should have been possible for me to be associated with this further and very significant step in the progress of your body.

You have spoken today of the course of events which led to the decision of your Association to construct your headquarters building in Calcutta. It is eminently fitting that a city which is itself a monument of great engineering achievements, the home of many great industries, and a centre from which has radiated so much that is concerned with the development of India, should be chosen for the focus of an organisation which is, I am confident, destined to play a very important part in India's future. I trust that, with your parent building established here, you will before many years are past have a whole family of similar buildings distributed among the important towns of India.

No one can feel doubt about the potential usefulness of an institution such as yours. The material advancement of any country is in no small measure dependent on its engineers. When we think of all that engineers have done for India in the past, of the rivers they have bridged, of the canals and roads and railways they have made, of the great buildings and great cities they have built, we cannot but be deeply conscious of the debt we owe them. Of this we had a conspicuous example two days ago when by the co-operation of rare human skill with the forces of nature a span of the Bally bridge was so successfully placed. I would like to offer my warm congratulations to all those who were responsible for this great feat of engineering. And when we contemplate the possibilities of development which still lie before this country, and the demands which the expansion of industry may be expected to make, we can be in no two minds as to the necessity of furnishing an adequate supply

*Laying of the Foundation-stone of the new Headquarters
Building of the Institution of Engineers (India).*

of qualified engineers. With the great reduction of European recruitment during the last ten years an increasing responsibility for producing the right type of engineer has been thrown on to Indian engineering colleges. There is therefore a very real and very necessary function to be performed by an organisation which can keep careful watch on the working of these colleges and which, before it acknowledges their degrees, must be satisfied that their standard of education qualifies their graduates for corporate membership of your institution. I have been greatly interested too to hear of the valuable work done by the Institution, especially in Calcutta, in bringing students into contact at an early stage with the practical side of their future profession, and the adoption by the Public Service Commission of your examination standards, as a qualification for the admission of engineers to public service, is a tribute to the sterling work you have already done.

In all these activities it is clear that central buildings, well designed and adequately equipped, will play an essential part, and it is a great pleasure therefore to me today to lay the foundation-stone of your new Headquarters. I echo all that you have said, Mr. President, as to the debt we owe to Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerji, and many others, whose generosity has made it possible for this scheme to be set on foot. I only wish that it might have been possible for me to announce that Government were able to sanction the grant for which your Institution recently applied. My Government, you may feel sure, are deeply sensible of the services rendered to them by this Institution, and indeed if I remember aright they have had one or two opportunities in the past of acknowledging in a practical way the services it performs. But you are no doubt also aware that in present financial circumstances strict and ruthless economy has to be

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

exercised in every direction, and it is impossible to find public money for any objects not absolutely and immediately essential.

I earnestly hope however that lack of funds will not prevent the completion of your building programme. Since Lord Chelmsford inaugurated your Institution, and in so doing forecast a great and successful future for it, the increase in the number of your members and the progress you have made in many directions have well justified his optimism. I trust that in succeeding years your Institution will go from strength to strength, and will be a potent factor in upholding the great traditions which belong to the engineering profession throughout the world. Your primary function and your chief justification will be the maintenance of standards—of those technical standards which make the first-class engineer a man outstanding in any company of men, and of the ethical standards without which neither your nor any other profession can take the honoured place which is its due among the beneficent activities of mankind. In laying this foundation-stone today I ask you all to join with me in wishing all success to the building which will rise above it, and in hoping that the foundation is being laid of something for which the India of the future will have good reason to be grateful.

EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION DINNER AT CALCUTTA.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the European Association Dinner at Calcutta on the 22nd December :—

22nd December 1930.

Gentlemen,—I have on two previous occasions been privileged to enjoy the hospitality of the European Association, and am again reaping the advantage of the fact that this function now ranks as one of the most

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

important engagements of a Viceroy during his winter visit to this great city. I am right, I think, in saying that it is a privilege which was never enjoyed by a Viceroy before Lord Reading, and it is a happy chance that has brought one of my distinguished predecessors in office, whose memory is still cherished in all parts of India, to the hospitable table of your Association this evening. I have no doubt that you will in future years extend a warm welcome here to one who, after a long record of distinguished public service, returns to bear the highest responsibilities in a country which he knows well and which holds him in warm regard. I am particularly pleased that what must be my last European Association dinner should have been held under the presidentship of one, who has made for himself so notable a place in the political life of the European community and of Bengal. It is not indeed without real regret that I reflect that I can never again expect to enjoy the delights of spending a Christmas in Calcutta, though I derive what solace I can from the knowledge that at Government House will still be a brother-Yorkshireman of mine, by whose side I have been glad to fight many political battles in Yorkshire and at Westminster, and whose gifts of cool judgment and shrewd knowledge of men render him well fitted to grapple at such a time as this with the anxious duties of Governor of this great Province. For myself I have received many kindnesses here, made many friends, and been able to appraise the part which a vast and important city like Calcutta plays in the commercial, social and political life of India. All that I shall remember, and for your hospitality to-night, as for all that your Chairman has just said on your behalf, I would express my warmest thanks.

I remember that, speaking here four years ago, I tried to express my appreciation of what members of this

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

Association had done and were doing to assist the political growth of India, often at no small inconvenience to themselves and to those they represent. This work indeed has always been associated in my mind with one whose untimely death has recently bereft the European community in India of a bold champion and a wise counsellor, and who is mourned by a very wide circle of his friends. Colonel Crawford gave up a soldier's career for the task of mobilising European interest in the political future of this country, for he believed that the European community had their own peculiar and indispensable part to play in the national life of India. He gave himself unsparingly—I do not think it is too much to say that he gave his life—to the work for which his varied qualities suited him so well, and which at this moment above all could so ill-afford to lose him. Thanks in no small measure to his inspiration, the European community has loyally taken its share in the task of working a new constitution, on the intrinsic merits of which some still felt misgivings; many, like the Chairman, have placed their experience freely at the service of popular bodies; and no fair-minded observer would assert that Europeans in India have been lacking in sympathy for Indian aspirations.

It has so happened that my five years of office have coincided with what must in any circumstances have been a period of intense political activity, and no one knows better than I how great has been the help that, during that time, I as head of the Government have received from the European community. Especially has that been the case during the last difficult year. I do not now speak of those difficulties which are weighing so heavily upon the economic life of India, and with which I had occasion to deal a few days ago. I rather refer here to those political affairs which have lately occupied so large a place in all our thoughts. The ship of State

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

has been encountering rough weather, and it is at such times, rather than when the sky is clear and seas are smooth, that help is valuable. A British party leader is reported to have once said, when discussing the support he desired from his party, "I don't want a fellow to support me when I'm right; I want him to support me when I'm wrong." I would scarcely expect the European Association to be so indiscriminating as that, and I am well aware that there have of late been both some difference of opinion within your own ranks, and also a disposition in certain quarters to seek much-needed relief for feelings in criticism of Government. It is no doubt all to the good that, when such differences of opinion exist, they should be freely and frankly stated and discussed. It was moreover certain that the times should have induced different conclusions in different minds, and tended to provoke some to despair of anything constructive being accomplished. For the prevailing conditions in India challenge thought, and lead all thinking men to search the intellectual foundations of their political philosophy. And, where views are strongly held, it will be natural that strong expression should be given to them, and, if the critics are honest in their convictions, they will not hesitate to apportion blame where they believe it to be due.

But the principal target of attack—or at all events that with which I am mainly concerned—has of course been Government, and on that I am entitled to speak more fully. I have myself been the object of a good deal of criticism both here and in England. With the latter, this is obviously not the place and I am not at present the person to deal. But general criticism in India, directed against myself and my Government, it is both my desire and my duty to meet. Let me make it plain in the first instance that I am the last person to claim that Governments, or the Governor-General who

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

presides over them, should be immune from public criticism. For unless we are to assume that Governments are always entirely right—and I expect that both Lord Hardinge and Sir Stanley Jackson would agree that even the most self-confident and self-satisfied members of Governments have themselves been sometimes disposed to recoil from this extreme assertion of infallibility—the absence of such criticism would denote a dangerous state of political apathy. At the same time, although no one needs to have been in the business of Government in order to know that they make mistakes, it is, I think, only those who have never been charged with the responsibility of framing policy and of executive action, who are prone to the conclusion that Governments are imbued with a double dose of the original sin of ineptitude. While therefore I welcome criticism,—and politicians, like the poor man's donkey, would think that something had gone seriously awry with the natural order if blows were no longer rained upon them—I think that Government on their side are entitled to demand that criticism should be constructive, and that those who find fault with the action of Government should take steps to place their suggestions for a better course in concrete form before those who are occupied with administration.

From one quarter the general criticism that we hear is of course that there would have been no trouble, or that any trouble would have immediately disappeared, if only the country had had what is called “strong Government”. I notice that those on whose lips this phrase generally lies are often more unanimous in their denunciation of Government than in describing in exact terms the matters in which executive action falls short of their ideal—and I find some difficulty in ascertaining clearly what it really is that they have in mind. During every week of these last months, my Government have worked in the closest co-operation with His Majesty's Government

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

on one side and with Local Governments on the other reviewing the situation from week to week, exploring new means of countering new developments, and on no single occasion has there been difference of opinion between any of the parties concerned on any point of substance affecting the special powers, for which Local Governments, after due deliberation and with a full sense of their responsibility, deemed it necessary to ask. We have examined in detail various proposals put forward by unofficial persons and in the Press, and in many instances have incorporated them in the powers we thought it right to assume. Others on examination revealed insuperable objections and were evidently impracticable. And therefore, without as I have just said claiming any infallibility for Government, I think I am entitled to ask men and women of sober judgment why those who compose Local Governments and the Government of India, and who together represent a good deal of varied Indian experience, must be supposed to have forfeited, because they hold official positions, whatever may have been their natural endowment of common-sense; and why they, applying their minds day in and day out to the problem of how best to combat the threat of civil disobedience, are more certainly all wrong than critics, who have not the same facilities for information, and who therefore have not the same opportunity of forming their conclusions.

The truth I fancy is that such critics are firm believers in what I may call the practicability of short cuts. In "Alice in Wonderland", as you will remember, "the Queen had only one way of settling all difficulties, great or small. 'Off with his head,' she would say, without even looking round." And that policy, translated into terms of real life, will always offer powerful attractions, when men are impressed with the disturbance that is being caused by particular agitations, and believe that

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

a speedy and effective remedy lies ready to hand in the shape of vigorous executive action. Now, I think Government can do, and ought to do, many things to protect those who want to obey the law, and to punish those who break it, and I am constantly told from other quarters that we have done far too much. But I definitely do not share the view that any Government action, however drastic, will or can be as powerful a solvent of these troubles as will be the gradual force of public opinion, which must sooner or later awake to the fact of how mistaken is the course that the country is invited to pursue. The conditions, for example, of prosperous and friendly commercial intercourse will always depend far more upon public opinion than upon Government action, and, however emphatically we may condemn the civil disobedience movement—and nobody can feel more strongly than I do the harm that it has done and is doing to the cause of India—whatever powers we may find it necessary to take to combat it, so long as it persists, we should, I am satisfied, make a profound mistake if we underestimated the genuine and powerful feeling of nationalism, that is today animating much of Indian thought. And for this no simple, complete, or permanent cure ever has been or ever will be found in strong action by Government.

Before this movement started, I formed the definite view, which everything that has happened since has only reinforced, that it would no doubt be possible to apply a far more ruthless policy of repression than anyone has yet suggested, and after a space of time, be it short or long, to create a desert and call it peace. Such a policy would have involved a rigid censorship of the Press, compared to which the operation of the Press Ordinance would have been negligible ; the strict prohibition of all hostile expressions of opinion in all forms ; the supersession of the ordinary law of trial and punishment over

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

a wide field ; and other action of similar kind. But any such policy, apart from all other considerations, must be judged not only by its immediate effects—let these be as favourable as the sternest advocate of the plan might desire—but by its ultimate results ; and these again must be placed in relation to the wider purposes that you have in view. We all know what these are. And here I do not believe that any man can doubt that, so far from facilitating the accomplishment of the principal purpose of Great Britain, which is to lead India to self-government and to retain her as an equal and contented member of the Imperial family of nations, such action, even if otherwise feasible, would on the contrary aggravate your task quite indefinitely, and probably destroy any hope of bringing it to successful issue. The British people, more than any other, ought to know that, in so far as the matter is one affecting the forces that we call nationalism, it cannot permanently be dealt with on such lines. Government has a clear duty to maintain the law, and to resist attempts to substitute another authority for its own, and I am glad to have this opportunity of paying a tribute to the manner in which Their Excellencies Sir Stanley Jackson and Sir Hugh Stephenson, who recently acted for him, and all their officers have during these troublous times upheld the administration of this Presidency. But, if Government is wise, it will remember that, to the extent to which these things are only the symptoms of underlying causes, they call for different treatment.

At the other extreme is the line of criticism which denounces Government as repressive, the enemy of all true progress and national feeling. In answer to this charge the policy of Government has so often been made plain that I must ask your forgiveness for restating it once again. The fact that civil disobedience claims to rest upon a harmless gospel of negation has not prevented its rapid development in practice into a positive challenge

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

to the constituted Government, and a grave menace to the good order of the whole body-politic. Sir, those, who summoned from the deep this spirit of law-breaking in support of a so-called non-violent movement, cannot escape responsibility when their gospel has led ill-balanced minds to have resort to methods of violent terrorism, of which you have had experience in Calcutta and Bengal during the last few weeks, in such crimes as the murders of Mr. Lowman, Inspector Tarini Charan Mukerji, and lastly Colonel Simpson. It is always within the power of reckless miscreants to take the lives of their fellow men and to inflict untold pain and sorrow upon those who held those lives dearer than their own. But action of this kind will not deter men who know their duty from its performance, any more than it will deflect on one side or the other the judgment of those, with whom rests the responsibility for considering and framing the political structure of the future. I know full well how deep and how bitter is the resentment which such happenings excite in the hearts of all loyal citizens, and there is not one of us here who can for a moment forget the strain that they impose most of all upon the Police. I should like to express here publicly my sense of the great debt that Government owes, as to the Police generally, so particularly to Mr. Craig and Sir Charles Tegart—himself only lately the object of one of these criminal attempts—for the example of steadiness, wisdom, and gallantry they have set to the forces that have the honour to serve under them, and of which they have the honour to be Chiefs. If repression means the determination to resist this menace, Government readily plead guilty to the charge, for no Government worthy of the name could do otherwise. But, if by repression our critics mean that Government desire, by any action they have been forced to take, to strangle national aspirations or to obstruct India's constitutional advance, then I say that no such charge

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

can be levelled against those who were responsible for commenting upon Sir John Simon's report as we did in the Reforms despatch of the Government of India published a few weeks ago.

In that despatch we made no attempt to underestimate the force of the political currents influencing Indian thought, and we recorded our view that in the future relationship between Great Britain and India the time has definitely come for the relation of partnership to supersede that of subordination. That is a step surely of deep significance to those who reflect on the past relations of the two countries, bolder than some of our critics might have thought wise, and far-reaching in its implications. I have seen it said in many quarters that the actual proposals made by the Government of India do not in fact translate this view into practical reality. That criticism I believe to be based upon an imperfect appreciation of the manner in which such arrangements as we foreshadowed might, with goodwill on both sides, be expected in practice to operate. It seemed to us moreover of fundamental importance to examine in detail how provision might be made for the collaboration of the two partners, in a form that, historically and constitutionally, would for the first time endow India with that political entity that has been the antecedent condition of all self-governing institutions throughout the Empire. On the forms of machinery best suited to our purpose opinions will be many. We claim no monopoly of wisdom, and there may well be other means by which this object can be achieved. I was much gratified to hear what you, Sir, said as to the Round Table Conference now sitting in London, of which we have all watched the progress with close attention and with earnest prayers that it may win success. Since that Conference assembled, the general setting of the picture has been greatly changed by the desire shown by representatives of both British India and

European Association Dinner at Calcutta.

the States to launch the new constitution in the form of an all-India federation. It would not be proper for me, nor indeed is it possible for any of us, while discussions are still proceeding, to pronounce upon the merits of the plan upon which the Conference has been engaged. We all know how grave are the difficulties that they have to overcome. But I am certain that, if and when their labours reach agreed conclusions, possibly in a form different from that which many of us, on such information as we possessed, had supposed to be immediately within the reach of practical constitution builders, we shall all desire to give those conclusions full and most sympathetic consideration, realising how truly His Majesty described the issues that hang upon these deliberations as of momentous kind. On behalf of my Government I can readily say that any scheme which will adequately meet the various facts of which we have to take account, and will satisfy the main principles by which we believe the problem to be governed, is assured in advance of no grudging reception at our hands.

More than once I have expressed the opinion that, given a spirit of mutual accommodation, there is no reason why it should pass our powers to reach agreement. Agreement however will not be reached by the cold light of reason alone, and, to warm and fire our imagination, we need to fix our gaze steadily upon the entrancing picture of an India, spontaneously and gladly claiming her full share of Imperial responsibility and privileges as a co-partner in the common heritage of the British Commonwealth. With this vision before my eyes, I desire to see India resolving her own internal difficulties and Great Britain freely extending her trust to Indian Rulers, statesmen, and people, who in return would not less freely offer to Great Britain any constitutional securities, that in the early days of the new arrangements might promise to strengthen that trust, and place it firmly

State Banquet at Imphal.

on a basis of mutual respect and understanding. Upon that basis only can constructive work satisfactorily proceed, and without it our castles will all be castles in the air.

The history of British relations with India in the past is a monument to the co-operation of two peoples, in commerce and in administration. Changing forms of Government will not lessen the need for each nation to rely upon the other for those qualities which, on either side, have contributed to a long and prospering partnership. I most earnestly trust that the same mutual good sense and capacity for seeing the problem from the other fellow's point of view will now stand us all in good stead, and in years to come permit each and every community, that is interested in this great land of India, to look back on their work at a difficult time, and say that it was good.

STATE BANQUET AT IMPHAL.

6th January
1931.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the State Banquet at Imphal on 6th January 1931 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to begin by thanking Your Highness very heartily on Lady Irwin's behalf and on my own for the kind manner in which you have just proposed our health, and, if I may, I will also take this public opportunity, on behalf of the whole of our party, to thank Your Highness for your hospitality in inviting us to your State, and for the excellent arrangements you have made for our comfort and entertainment. We look forward more than I can say to the next few days which we are to spend in your beautiful country, and to seeing something of its people, of their interesting customs and of their prowess in manly sports.

State Banquet at Imphal.

It was a great disappointment to Lady Irwin and to me two years ago when urgent and important business called me back to Delhi and forced me to cancel the visit to Manipur to which we had been so keenly looking forward. My regret was all the greater because I was fully conscious of the trouble to which our sudden change of plan must have put Your Highness and Your Highness' officials.

As Your Highness has just said, it is nearly 30 years since Lord Curzon, that much travelled Viceroy, came to Manipur. The ways of Viceroys are always mysterious, and it is a mystery to me why other Viceroys have denied themselves the pleasure of visiting this beautiful corner of North-Eastern India. The truth is that we have not always time to follow out our own inclinations, nor has it always been possible to perform the journey to Imphal with the ease and comfort in which we have travelled here today. The magnificent motor road which now connects the capital with the railway line, 134 miles away, has indeed changed the conditions of travel since Lord Curzon did his journey by bridle path through Silchar.

Much else has happened in the intervening space of 30 years. At that time Your Highness was a boy, but you may remember that Lord Curzon spoke of the good education you had received, and promised that as long as your rule was good and you showed justice and benevolence to your people you would be supported by the British Government.

It is a great pleasure to me to be able to say tonight that I believe that the hopes expressed by Lord Curzon have been fully realised. The part Your Highness played in the Great War is still fresh in our memories. Not only did you offer the British Government the resources of your State, but you placed your personal services and those of your men at their disposal. That generous offer was carried into practice by Your Highness supplying

State Banquet at Imphal.

a double company for service in the army and for motor ambulances, and also a labour corps which went on service to France.

Before the Great War had ended, the Kuki rebellion gave Your Highness a further opportunity of displaying your loyalty to and support of Government. I read lately the resolution in which Sir Nicholas Beatson-Bell, the Governor of Assam at that time, placed on record his high appreciation of Your Highness' attitude throughout the rebellion, and of your statesmanlike view of the problems connected with it. He emphasised especially the good effect produced by Your Highness' tours in the valley and by your presence in one of the expeditions, and he ended by expressing hope, which I warmly echo this evening, that never again will Your Highness' rule be disturbed by any unrest among your subjects. Following on this unrest Your Highness gave practical proof of your desire to improve the administration of the hill tribes in the State by consenting to the employment of sub-divisional officers in the hills under the control of the President of the Durbar. More recently your decision to allow a responsible body of missionaries to carry on medical and educational work among the Kukis is further evidence of your determination to fulfil your obligations as a ruler. I think I need scarcely say that it is in recognition of the sincere desire of Your Highness, expressed in words and translated into action, to meet the wishes of Government in such ways as I have just described, that Your Highness' State has received from time to time liberal treatment in the matter of financial assistance.

Before I conclude I should like to offer Your Highness and your people my sympathy in the loss to life and property caused in the State by the recent earthquake and the floods of the previous year. It gave my Government the greatest pleasure to assist towards the reparation of the damage caused by the floods by granting a

Shillong Municipal Address.

substantial loan to Your Highness, and by agreeing for a further period of three years to let the tribute stand at five thousand instead of fifty thousand rupees on the understanding that the savings are utilised for expenditure in the hills.

It remains only to thank Your Highness once more for the great kindness you have done us by inviting us to Manipur. We only wish that time could have permitted us to make a longer stay. Our visit has given us the privilege of making the acquaintance of Your Highness and of many of Your Highness' people, and the warm interest which we shall always take in everything that concerns your State will be quickened by the personal memories we shall retain of all the kindness which has been shown to us here.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you now to join me in drinking long life and prosperity to our host His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur.

SHILLONG MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

His Excellency the Viceroy received addresses of 10th January welcome from the Shillong Municipal Board and the Siems 1931. of the Khasi and Jaintia people at Shillong on 10th January 1931 and replied as follows :—

Gentlemen,—It has given Lady Irwin and myself the greatest pleasure to have been welcomed with such kindness on our arrival in Shillong by the residents of the capital and by the Siems and representatives of the Khasi and Jaintia people, and on her behalf and on my own I thank you very warmly for all that you have said in the two addresses to which we have just listened. We had of course often heard of the beauty of your hill station and of the country which surrounds it, and now at last we are able to see for ourselves that those who sang its praises have in no way exaggerated. Indeed I fully agree with those who, whether right in their

Shillong Municipal Address.

etymology or not, derive the name of Assam from the Sanskrit word which in English means "the peerless".

It is therefore all the greater satisfaction, Mr. Chairman, to have your assurance that the Municipal Board of this town are so fully alive to the obligation incumbent upon them of making Shillong in every way worthy of the material with which Nature has endowed it. Now that you have an elected majority on the Board, the general body of voters shares with you the responsibility of keeping your municipal services up to date in every way, and I trust that the people of Shillong will always insist on the maintenance of high standards in these matters. I listened with pleasure, Mr. Chairman, to the tribute you paid to the work being done in the important field of public health by the Welsh Mission Hospital and the Pasteur Institute, a work which must surely be of great and lasting service to the people of this Province.

The interest of our visit to your capital has been greatly added to by the presence of the Siems and representatives of the Khasi and Jaintia people, some of whom have I know performed arduous journeys to welcome us here today. Your address, gentlemen, has properly recalled the ancient history of your race, its national pride and its virile character. It possesses in marked degree an attribute which, in days gone by, made the men of my own race famous as fighting men, a natural skill in archery. The conditions of society and administration in your hills have been well set forth in the memoranda prepared by the Government of this Province for the Statutory Commission, and the Commission themselves have clearly stated the problem of your future administration as it presented itself to them. This, along with the general question of certain kindred tracts in other parts of India, is a matter which is now within the purview of His Majesty's Government and the Conference now assembled in London. I will not therefore

Shillong Municipal Address.

say more than that, whatever the constitutional development may be, I have no doubt that the rights and privileges of the Siems will be safeguarded, and that, so far as may be practicable, steps will be taken to preserve the national individuality of the Khasi race. This, I know, is a matter in which—as in all others affecting the welfare of this Province and its people—His Excellency Sir Laurie Hammond takes a close personal interest, and of which he has a wide and sympathetic knowledge. I will only make one comment of a general kind. A desire has I think been expressed by some of the Khasis and Syuntengs that the district excluding the Siemships should be made a regulation district and should not be included in what are now known as the backward tracts. The reactions of such a step upon those Khasis who live in Siems' territory is clearly an important consideration in coming to a decision on this matter. For I think it may be laid down as an axiom that the introduction of the land revenue system, with the free transfer and purchase of land, the establishment of Courts of Justice under the Calcutta High Court, the imposition possibly of a road cess, in fact all the administrative improvements which would accompany the inclusion of the British portion of the district as part and parcel of Assam proper, would be likely to result in the Khasi States being drawn by economic competition to follow the line of development adopted in the rest of the district.

May I, in conclusion, thank once again all those who have gathered here today for the very kind reception that has been given to Lady Irwin and myself. Our time in India is, to our great regret, drawing near its close, and my present tour is probably my last in British India. All the more vivid therefore will be the picture we shall take away with us of your beautiful country and its friendly people, and we shall never cease to wish you and all the people of Assam a full measure of happiness and prosperity.

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE FOURTH
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

17th January 1931. His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly on the 17th January 1931 :—

Gentlemen,—It is my privilege today to welcome Members of this House to the opening session of the fourth Legislative Assembly. Among them are many who have already made their names in public life, and, if we regret, as we must, the absence of some who have hitherto been frequent participants in our debates, we are glad to see again many, who are well known to the Assembly, along with others of proved quality in other fields, who have come forward to serve their country in this sphere.

My first duty is to offer my sincere congratulations to your President on his election to his responsible and honourable office. He brings to his duties a wide experience of public affairs and of legislative procedure, and I am confident that he will discharge his important functions with dignity and with wise impartiality. Though the election has on this occasion been contested, I have no doubt that, now the decision of the House has been taken, the President will on all occasions be able to count upon the loyal support of all parties and persons in it.

I would have wished that this Assembly might have been convened for its first meeting at such a date as would have enabled those of its members, who have attended the Round Table Conference, to be in their places at the beginning of the session. There are however certain fixed dates and certain requirements of procedure which have limited my choice in this matter. The Railway Budget must be completed in time to permit us to bring the second-half of the general Budget before the House at the beginning of March. Moreover, on the occasion of a new

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

Assembly, the Standing Finance Committee and the Railway Standing Finance Committee, which at other times complete the greater part of their task before the beginning of the session, have to be reconstituted. There are also important measures of legislation, to which I must presently refer, and for which it was clearly essential to give ample time for discussion. These were all reasons which would have made delay inconvenient.

On this particular occasion too I was anxious that the work of the session should be completed before I laid down my office, and, as the date of my departure from India was uncertain until a week or two ago, I felt it desirable if possible to conclude our business by about the third week in March. For these reasons I decided to summon the House in the middle of January, and I trust that this may not have exposed Hon'ble Members to inconvenience. It has meant, I fear, the absence today of certain prominent members from their places, but, while regretting this, I trust I have made plain the reasons that appeared to preclude the adoption of any other course.

The same considerations of urgency did not apply to the Council of State, and, as their session will not open until February, I have had to forego the pleasure of addressing them on this occasion. I shall hope, however, towards the close of the session to ask the Members of both Houses to give me an opportunity of taking my formal farewell of the Central Legislature.

For myself this occasion must necessarily be tinged with regret. For it marks the opening of the last session of the Legislature with which I shall be concerned, and it brings nearer the day when I shall have to say good-bye to many friends in India, amongst whom I am fortunate to

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

count large numbers, who are and who have been Members of this House. I am however happy to think that, when the time comes for me to lay down the responsibilities of my present charge, I shall hand them over to one, well known to India, who is singularly well qualified to guide her destinies at this particular juncture, and who has during a long and distinguished period of Indian public service already assured for himself a place in the esteem and friendship of very many of India's people.

Before I speak of the legislative and other business which will come before the House this session, there are certain important matters of more than departmental interest, which deserve mention.

Our relations with Foreign States along the whole of our great land frontier continue to be of a cordial character. On the North-West Frontier the disturbances, which marred the spring and summer months of last year, have subsided, and, except in our relations with the Afridis, normal conditions may be said now to have been generally restored. As a result of two unprovoked invasions of the Peshawar District during the summer by lashkars of certain sections of the Afridi tribe, it was decided by my Government, with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government, to take measures for the protection of Peshawar against this danger, by preventing hostile concentrations from again using the Khajuri and Aka Khel plain, on the western border of the Peshawar District, as a base for such attacks. In pursuance of this decision some miles of road have been or are being constructed to link up the plain with adjoining areas in which communications have been developed, and portions of the plain have been occupied by troops with negligible opposition. A considerable number of troops have been employed under

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

very severe climatic conditions in these operations, and have carried out their duties with the cheerfulness and efficiency that is always characteristic of the Army in India.

The situation created by the Afridi incursions compelled my Government, in the interest of the public safety, to impose Martial Law in the Peshawar District. The Chief Commissioner was appointed Chief Administrator of Martial Law, and made every effort to ensure that there should be as little interference as possible with the ordinary administration. In this he was successful, and, now that provision has been made otherwise for the continuance of certain emergency powers under a public Safety Regulation, the Martial Law Ordinance is being withdrawn.

With the approval of my Government, the Chief Commissioner in July last gave an undertaking that the administration of the five districts of the Province would be scrutinised, and if, on comparison with the adjoining districts of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province administration appeared to be in any way deficient, especially in its beneficent activities, steps would be taken, as funds admitted, to remedy the defects. The Chief Commissioner's proposals in fulfilment of this undertaking are now under consideration. Among other measures, the reassessment which was recently made of the Peshawar District has been revised to bring it into accord with the Punjab Land Revenue Amendment Act, with the result that the total assessment was reduced by some Rs. 60,000.

Questions affecting Indians overseas have as always claimed the special attention of my Government. When I last addressed this House, I referred briefly to the Land Tenure Bill introduced in the Assembly of the Union of South Africa, which had caused considerable alarm among

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

Indians in the Transvaal. My Government sought counsel from the Standing Committee on Emigration on the far-reaching provisions of this measure, and received from them valuable advice to guide them in their line of approach to this difficult and delicate problem. We fully recognise the serious implications of the Bill, and in particular the effect it must have on the trading and business interests of the Indian community in the Transvaal. We are aware too of the feelings of deep concern which the Bill has aroused amongst those whose interests are threatened, and of the sympathy which is felt for them by their compatriots in South Africa and in this country. I have given this question much anxious thought and personal attention. Every opportunity has been taken of representing the Indian point of view, and, as our Agent—Sir Kurma Reddi—announced at the recent conference of the South African Indian Congress, our views will be communicated to the Union Government. It is unnecessary to assure the House that we are making every endeavour, in co-operation with the Union Government, to secure an equitable solution, and I earnestly hope that the negotiations to be conducted by our representative will result, after full and frank discussion, in an agreement satisfactory to both sides.

Turning to East Africa, Hon'ble Members will remember that the conclusions of His Majesty's Government have now been referred to a Joint Select Committee of Parliament. My Government are not ignorant of how widespread is the anxiety on the several questions that are involved, and they have submitted their views to this Committee through His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. We have further requested permission to present our case through a representative from India. I am glad

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

to inform the House that, in the event of that request being accepted, it is hoped that our spokesman will be the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, whose readiness to undertake any duty in the service of his country has ever been so conspicuous a characteristic of his public career, and who is shortly returning from the Conference to resume his seat on the Royal Commission on Labour under the Chairmanship of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Whitley. That Commission, after sparing no pains to see for themselves the labour conditions of India and to hear all shades of opinion, are now engaged in drafting their report, and Hon'ble Members, who will be grateful to them for the manner in which they have prosecuted their enquiry, will also be glad to hear that they expect to be able to complete their work next March.

I turn now to the main items of the business which will claim the attention of Hon'ble Members. It will be part of your task to consider the measures for maintaining the financial position of India, which will be placed before you in due course by my Government, and I venture to say that there can have been no period in the history of the country when financial problems have needed not only so much earnest consideration but also the co-operation of all the forces in India, which have power to help the situation. In using these words I have in mind not merely the needs created by the present economic crisis, but the task of finding adequate financial resources to give the new constitution now under discussion a favourable start.

India, like the rest of the world, has suffered seriously from an almost universal trade depression, and in the nature of things has felt the full weight of the collapse in world prices of agricultural products. The troubles, arising from this state of affairs, as I recently had cause

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

to point out, are being seriously aggravated by the disturbances resulting from the civil disobedience movement. I do not wish to dwell at length on this aspect of that movement today, nor indeed is it profitable to indulge in recriminations about the past. What concerns us is the present and the future, and I would ask all Hon'ble Members to ponder deeply on the injury which the present dissensions are causing to the economic life of the country.

If only distrust and attempts to paralyse Government could be replaced by a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation, then even in spite of the world crisis we might see the dawn of a new optimism in India, and the opening of new ways for the recuperation and development of her economic strength.

There are in particular two aspects of the civil disobedience movement to which I must invite the attention of Hon'ble Members.

A little less than a month ago, I felt it my duty to have recourse again to the special powers, which I took last year, for the better control of the Press and of unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers, and for dealing with persons who may instigate others to refuse the fulfilment of certain lawful obligations. In doing so I expressed my regret that the urgent nature of the emergency, which necessitated the promulgation of these Ordinances, had not allowed me to await the meeting of the Central Legislature, but I indicated the intention of my Government to bring these matters before this House at the earliest opportunity. That intention we now propose to carry into effect by introducing legislation on these two subjects forthwith, and I must therefore briefly review the main factors which have led us to this decision.

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

A political movement must be judged and dealt with, not according to the professions of those who initiate it or carry it into effect, but in the light of practical results. Whatever may be, or have been, the true object underlying the present civil disobedience movement, Government still sees in many parts of India determined efforts to substitute another authority for its own and to interfere with the maintenance of law and order, of which Government is the constituted guardian. I need not at this stage detail the several forms which such activities have taken. But none I think is more pernicious, or more cruel to those whom it endeavours to mislead, than the pressure put upon payers of land revenue and other liabilities, to withhold payments that they are legally bound to make. In certain parts of the country those responsible for this movement have successfully instigated the withholding of such payments, and in other parts vigorous efforts are being made to this end. It is very easy to see how such a programme can be put forward in attractive guise, especially at a time when the low prices of agricultural products have unhappily created a situation of great gravity. I would once more make it very plain that the special powers taken by Government are in no way intended to modify the usual policy, followed by Local Governments, of granting suspension or remission of land revenue, when economic circumstances demand it. Indeed, while the necessity of combating these insidious and dangerous attempts to cripple the administration constrained me to take these powers, I attach great importance to them as a means by which the small agriculturists may be saved from the effects of such propaganda by people, who themselves have little to lose, but who are callously ready to involve the small landholder in the risks of legal processes and even forfeiture of his land.

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

Legislation on this subject will accordingly be laid before you.

We also propose to ask this House to give legislative sanction for a limited period to the provisions contained in the Press Ordinance issued a few weeks ago. Apart from the activities of the kind to which I have just referred, and which in themselves constitute so grave a menace to the public tranquility, we have lately witnessed a disturbing increase in those crimes of violence, which have deeply stained the fair name of India and which, I know, are as abhorrent to the members of this House as they are to all other reasonable persons.

The experience of the past few months leaves no doubt as to the existence of an organisation, whose insane objective it is to promote the overthrow of established Government by the deliberate creation of a state of terrorism. I know that the vast majority of Indians deplore the growth of a movement wholly foreign to their traditions and instincts, and I see in the wide condemnation of outrages, and in particular in the indignation evoked by the attack on His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, a growing recognition of the urgent and paramount need of removing this malignant cancer in the life of India. I desire to express my deep sympathy with the relatives of all who have fallen victims at the hands of assassins, and I gladly pay a high tribute to the skill and courage of those, who at the constant risk of their lives are engaged in the detection and prevention of terrorist plans. The devotion to duty of the officers, high and low, of every department of Government, in difficult and often dangerous circumstances, has been a feature of the past year of which all branches of the service may well feel proud. I and my Government in our sphere shall spare no effort to protect our officers and the public; but,

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

whatever action Government may take in this matter, it cannot achieve complete success, unless it is assisted by the whole-hearted determination of every citizen to stamp out so evil a thing from their society. I earnestly appeal to all, who have at heart India's good name, to show by action and words, which will admit of no doubt or reservation, that they regard the terrorist movement with repugnance, and those who are actively engaged in it, or extend to it their sympathy or support, as the worst enemies of India.

Among other influences which have undoubtedly tended to the encouragement of such revolutionary methods and violent crime, are certain sections of the Press, whose reiterated laudation of false sentiment and of distorted patriotism lead all too often to the injection of deadly poison into a certain type of mind. Fair criticism of the administration or of our constitutional proposals I do not fear ; I rather welcome it. But, when the great power of the Press is diverted from its true functions to dangerous and destructive doctrine, Government can no longer stand aside.

I am very well aware that the two projects of legislation to which I have referred must excite keen discussion and perhaps controversy, and I would gladly have avoided controversy at this time had I felt it to be possible. Profoundly hoping as I do that the outcome of the Round Table Conference may be to assist the speedy restoration of normal conditions, I should have preferred, if I could, to suspend action, and await the advent of a situation in which special powers would no longer be required. But, so far as the terrorist movement is concerned, there is little ground for supposing that those who direct it are likely to be deterred from their course by constitutional agreements that may be reached, and, for the rest, it is not

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

possible for Government to play the rôle of benevolent spectators, so long as those, who have been endeavouring to destroy its foundations at every point, show no sign of abating their activities. It therefore seemed clear to my Government that, in the face of these facts, it would be a dereliction of our duty to refrain from taking the necessary protective action, and it also seemed clear to them that on such vital issues the Members of this House had both the right and the duty to express their views. I am confident that, when they examine our proposals, they will do so with a deep sense of the responsibility, which they share with Government, for preserving the peace and stability of the country.

I have never concealed my view that action of this kind, necessary as it is, will not of itself give us the remedy that we seek for present discontents. And, during the past two months, the thoughts of all, who have believed that honourable agreement is not beyond our grasp, have been focussed upon the proceedings of the Conference in London. There were those, both in India and Great Britain, who openly scorned its meeting, and, both before and since it met, have made scant concealment of their hope that it would fail, little mindful of the gravity of the times, and of the need for their redemption on both sides by practical and courageous statesmanship. From the outset, there were many among the delegates from India who must have been conscious of the fact that their own faith in the efficiency of constitutional methods was not shared by many of their compatriots. In these circumstances, it demanded from them no small degree of political courage to disregard the powerful pressure to which they were exposed, and men of every opinion can well afford to recognise the sense of public duty, which impelled them to do what they deemed right in the face

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

of much bitter contumely. Of those who went to England, there is one, to whom I must make a special reference, for I feel assured that we should all wish to join in an expression of deep sorrow that one of the most notable personalities of the Conference should not have been permitted to witness the outcome of the labours, to which, as it proved, he gave his last days of life.

The Conference, graciously opened by His Majesty the King-Emperor, is now about to conclude its labours, and we await with eager interest the announcement to be made by the Prime Minister in the next few days. Pending that announcement I content myself with pointing to certain things, which already stand out in sharp relief.

The first undoubtedly is the recognition by the Indian States of the essential unity of all India, and their readiness to take their full share in designing the instruments of Government, through which that conception of unity may gain concrete expression and effect. I do not under-rate the difficulties that still have to be surmounted before these aspirations can be realised in their entirety. But those need not blind us to the far-reaching and deep significance of the step taken by the States' representatives in London. I scarcely think I exaggerate when I say that the historian a hundred years hence, commenting on these times, will find in it the turning point of the constitutional history of India.

The Conference has had two further results that seem to me of incalculable value. At the time of its convention the atmosphere was clouded with misunderstandings on both sides. Opinion in Great Britain was ill-informed of the realities of thought in India ; opinion in India, even in circles where so-called moderate views prevailed, was suspicious and sceptical of the purpose of Great Britain.

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

If ignorance and suspicion still linger, they represent the rear-guard and no longer the main body of opinion in the two countries. Great Britain has realised, as she has heard it at first-hand from all sections of the Indian delegation, something of the new forces that are animating the political thought of India, while India, feeling no longer that she is misunderstood, is better prepared to recognise that British statesmen have approached the problem, not indeed ignoring real difficulties, but with a single will to find means by which they may be speedily and securely resolved.

And thus it might appear that all, who have longed to see the Conference bear fruit for the true healing of the nations, may take new hope. The London discussions have revealed a genuine desire on all sides to find practical means, by which speedy and substantial recognition may be given to the natural claims of Indian political thought. There is no one who will not deplore the fact that the work of the Conference should have been so gravely impeded by that problem, which continues to occupy so pre-eminent and unfortunate a place in the domestic life of India. Any constitution that is to work smoothly must obviously command the confidence of all communities, and in this matter India can help herself more than anybody else can help her. I would most earnestly trust that leaders of all communities would once more come together, resolved no longer to allow the constitutional progress of India to be impeded by this cause, or India herself to lie under this reproach of internal discord and mistrust. Apart from this, it is evident that, to many of those participating in the Conference, the influence of personal contact with men of differing views, along with the inspiration of the new and wider vision of a United India that the Conference has unfolded, has had

Address at the opening Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly.

the effect of presenting an old problem in new guise, and of leading them to revise some of their earlier views upon it. That way lies the best possibility for both countries of return to the conditions of peace and harmony that we all desire.

Many times during the last twelve months thoughtful men and women must have pondered deeply over what has been one of their most poignant and perplexing features. However mistaken any man may think him to be, and however deplorable may appear the results of the policy associated with his name, no one can fail to recognise the spiritual force, which impels Mr. Gandhi to count no sacrifice too great in the cause, as he believes, of the India that he loves. And I fancy that, though he on his side too thinks those who differ from him to be the victims of a false philosophy, Mr. Gandhi would not be unwilling to say that men of my race, who are today responsible for Government in India, were sincere in their attempt to serve her. It has been one of the tragedies of this time that where ultimate purposes have perhaps differed little, if at all, the methods employed by some should have been, as I conceive, far more calculated to impede than to assist the accomplishment of that largely common end. And, deeply as I crave to see the dawn of a happier day in India, I am bound, so long as a movement designed to undermine and sap the foundations of Government holds the front place in the programme of the great Congress organisation, to resist it to the uttermost of my strength. Is it not now possible, I would ask, for those responsible for this policy to try another course that, in the light on the one hand of sinister events in India, and on the other of the encouragement offered to India by the progress of the Conference in England, would seem to be the more excellent way? A great deal remains to be

Opening of the All-India Police Conference.

done, for it has long been generally recognised that, if and when the broad lines of constitutional revision could be drawn, much subsequent detailed thought would be required for its adjustment to the particular circumstances of India. Quite evidently it would be for the good of India that all the best elements both here and in Great Britain should join hands in the work of elaborating and bringing to fruition the undertaking so well begun in London, and thus place the seal of friendship once again upon the relations of two peoples, whom unhappy circumstances have latterly estranged. On the wide basis of friendship and mutual respect alone can we confidently build the structure of a strong and self-reliant India, one within herself and one with the other partners in the British Commonwealth. I feel confident that I can count on every member of this House to lend at all-times such assistance as may be in his power to the furtherance of a work, so fraught with consequence to the welfare of India, of Great Britain, and of that Empire, in which I very earnestly pray India may for all time be proud to take her place.

OPENING OF THE ALL-INDIA POLICE CONFERENCE.

19th January 1931. His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the All-India Police Conference on Monday, the 19th January 1931, said :—

Gentlemen,—It has given me the greatest pleasure to come here today and open the third All-India Police Conference and to meet so many representatives of the Police service from all parts of India. It is not my intention to say much in detail about the agenda of your meeting. Those are matters in which you are expert, and I am not, and I wish only to make a few observations of a general kind.

Opening of the All-India Police Conference.

I think that all will agree that the results of the two previous conferences have been valuable enough to justify the Government of India and the Local Governments in calling a further meeting this year, and I hope that this conference may in future become a standing biennial engagement. For there must clearly be great value in examining and reviewing from time to time our methods of dealing with Police problems of an all-India nature. And, to do this effectively, it is essential to pool all our knowledge and experience of these matters, and it is indeed only in this way that we can expect to effect progressive improvement. In a country so vast as India, with a total Police force in the neighbourhood of 200,000 officers and men, it would be more than surprising if we found no inequalities, not only in all-round efficiency, but even in the handling of particular branches of work. It is just as true, I imagine, of the Police service as of other walks of life, that different branches of work make a different appeal to different minds, and it is largely to the enthusiast and the pioneer that real progress in any particular direction is due. So, when an officer, and through him a Province, attains marked efficiency in any direction, it is of the highest importance that the results of the special knowledge and experience so acquired should be made available to the rest of the Police forces throughout the country. In practice, and largely for this kind of reason, I have no doubt that it will be found that each of the Provinces has a distinct contribution to make to the common stock.

These biennial Police Conferences too show that we in India, have seen the need of keeping pace with world opinion in the matter of Police work. To anyone who in recent years has been concerned with Police administration in its wider aspects, and even to a layman like myself, one feature that arrests attention has been the general and growing recognition of the fact that the policeman's calling is coming more and more to be regarded as a highly skilled

Opening of the All-India Police Conference.

profession. Developments of modern civilisation offer to astute brains great possibilities in the development of the skilled methods of crime, and recent years have seen a gradual widening of such activities and an increasing intricacy in their technique. Here neither provincial nor international limits are sacrosanct, and, as in matters of law and order it is the criminal who sets the pace, so it is the duty of the protective forces of the State to see that they keep abreast his sinister activities.

If perhaps we have not advanced as far on the road as some other countries, we are at least moving in the right direction. In India, of all countries, this is peculiarly necessary, for I suppose in no other part of the world are the Police confronted with so great a range and variety of crime, varying from the bomb-maker with his up-to-date knowledge of modern high explosives, to the aboriginal jungle-dweller who commits a murder in deference to age-long and revolting superstitions.

As I have said, however, my chief object in coming here this morning is not to speak to experts about the intricacies of their own job. My chief purpose is to have an opportunity of thanking you, and through you all the ranks of the Indian Police Service, for the splendid work that you have done during my five years of office. None of these five years have been years of ease and leisure so far as the Police have been concerned, but above all the last twelve months have been a period of difficulty and anxiety, and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which the Police all over India have during that time met and dealt with a situation of great delicacy and gravity. I am in this respect in the happy position of being able to speak without distinction of province or rank. During a period of unprecedented stress the Police have stood shoulder to shoulder through the length and breadth of India in the unremitting task of preserving the King's peace, and in its fulfilment they have raised the high

Opening of the All-India Police Conference.

traditions of their service to a level never previously attained. They have displayed those qualities which are found only in a disciplined force of the first order—loyalty and courage, endurance and restraint. If I dwell on two features of their record, it is not that I am unmindful of their other achievements. What has made particular appeal to me has been the staunchness of the police and their moral and physical courage. They have shown a fine determination to see the thing through, and the attempts to turn them from their duty have only made them more steadfast in its performance. They have had the moral courage to stand firm against every form of social intimidation, affecting them and their families, that perverted ingenuity could invent, and they have found their reward in the recognition, even of those who have spared no efforts to coerce or seduce them, that their ranks are not to be broken. Nor have they flinched before the physical dangers to which they have been exposed. The record of the past year contains many deeds of gallantry performed by the highest and the humblest members of the force. We remember that one who might have been with us today gave his life to save that of a brother officer, and we call to mind the long roll of those of all ranks who have not been afraid to face and to meet death. The record is one in which the Indian Police may take just pride, and I thank you and, through you, all members of the force for services well and faithfully rendered.

And this suggests one other thought. We are on the eve of changes when the primary control of the Police and of law and order will probably pass into other hands. I know and understand the apprehensions which many feel and the desire that the discipline and internal administration of the force should be preserved against disruptive influences. I do not underestimate the reality of the fears which are often expressed, or the necessity

Opening of the Red Cross Society Headquarters, New Delhi.

of doing everything that is possible to meet them under the new conditions likely soon to be in operation. At the same time I cannot help feeling that the most secure safeguard lies in the high standard of achievement of the force itself. I find it difficult to believe that any Government, charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order, will be so foolish as lightly to prejudice the efficiency of the Police, or that the governments of the future will, with equal cause, be any less appreciative than is mine of the services of those, whose position it will be both their duty and interest to protect.

Gentlemen, I have not much time left before me in India and this is likely to be the last opportunity I shall have of talking intimately to the representative members of a force to which I have many reasons, public and personal, to be grateful. May I conclude, before leaving you to your deliberations, by assuring you once more that anyone and anything connected with the Police in India—from constable to Inspector-General—will always have my very warm interest and sympathy, and that if I can in any way or at any time render them any service or assistance I shall deem it a pleasure and a privilege to do so.

OPENING OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETY HEAD-
QUARTERS, NEW DELHI.

6th February 1931. In opening the Red Cross Society Headquarters on 6th February 1931, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

When, a little less than a year ago, I had the privilege of laying the foundation-stone of this fine building, I hardly hoped to see the work of construction completed in so short a time. But enthusiasm and skill have worked wonders, and I warmly congratulate all those concerned upon the despatch with which they have achieved such

Opening of the Red Cross Society Headquarters, New Delhi.

excellent results. Nor do we forget—as Sir Henry has just said—that we owe it all to the princely generosity of His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh, who has always been such a very good friend of the Red Cross in all its activities. His name will ever remain associated with this building and will be remembered with gratitude by all those who have the interests of this great organisation at heart.

The last occasion on which I had the opportunity of addressing members of the Red Cross Society was at the Annual General Meeting in Simla last July, when I tried to summarise the great progress which had been made during the preceding five years. The months which have elapsed since then have seen another stride forward, and I am glad that I have been able, before my time in India comes to an end, to see the consummation of a scheme which, I am sure, will add materially to the efficiency of certain branches of Red Cross work. The formation of a Child Welfare Bureau, to which Sir Henry has just referred, will mean economy in power, and increase in efficiency, and I am glad to know that the management of the Bureau is now placed in the capable hands of Dr. Ruth Young, to whom we all wish a speedy recovery from her present illness. In the welfare of the child of today is bound up the well-being of the State in the years that lie before us, and there can be no question that in seriously tackling this problem the Red Cross Society is doing a work of the greatest national importance.

My business today is formally to open this central building, and I do not propose to touch on the work which the Provincial branches are doing. But, as they are the real workers in the Red Cross hive of activity, I should like to take this opportunity of sending them a last message of farewell, and a renewed assurance of the constant sympathy with which Lady Irwin and I shall always watch the progress and extension of their labours.

Unveiling of the Dominion Columns.

There is one omission in Sir Henry's speech which I feel it my duty to fill. I am not going to follow him in a critical examination of how he spends his working hours, but I have no hesitation in saying that few people could have laboured in the cause of the Red Cross Society with greater energy and devotion than has Sir Henry. In carrying through the amalgamation of the various organisations, which are now combined in the Child Welfare Bureau, his legal knowledge and his organising capacity have been invaluable. I am confident that all who are present this afternoon would wish me to place on record a public acknowledgment of the debt which the Society owes to him.

I will now ask your permission to open this new building. In doing so let me once more express my gratitude to the benefactor to whom this building owes its existence, and to all those who have co-operated in bringing the scheme to completion. I am confident that it has a career of great and increasing usefulness before it, and I earnestly trust that every success may attend the efforts of those who will work within its walls.

UNVEILING OF THE DOMINION COLUMNS.

10th February 1931. His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Unveiling of the Dominion Columns on 10th February 1931 :—

Nineteen years ago His Majesty the King-Emperor proclaimed the decision to build a new Imperial capital in Delhi. Today we meet to mark the formal completion of that work. In laying the first stones of the new capital His Majesty expressed the desire that the plan of the buildings to be erected should be considered with deliberation and care, so that the new creation might be in every way worthy of the historic character of its surroundings. Standing here we can surely say that His

Unveiling of the Dominion Columns.

Majesty's commands have been well and faithfully observed.

Those who first conceived the general design, that has now taken concrete form, aspired to make something that for dignity and beauty might stand alongside the architectural triumphs of centuries ago. Those who under skilled guidance have brought to completion a great idea have adorned it with the highest skill of Indian art and craftsmanship. To them, as to all who have shared in the fulfilment of the Royal purpose, is due the lasting gratitude of India.

The considerations, which led to the change of capital, have now moved beyond the sphere of practical debate. But after the passage of twenty years, and in the light of present-day experience, it is not without interest to recall that, when this project first took shape, Lord Hardinge and his colleagues foresaw a future when, with the growth of Provincial self-Government, it would become the more necessary to give the Central Government a separate and independent setting. To such courage and foresight we owe the birth of this new city, on ground from times immemorial the centre of dynasties and Empires, of whose past greatness many monuments are still silent spokesmen. A great responsibility will rest upon those who follow us to keep close watch over the development of this place. A few years hence, unless public opinion is forewarned, much may have happened which the men of that time will find it difficult, if not impossible, to correct, and it would be nothing short of tragedy if, through any lack of timely thought, the expanding city of New Delhi were to be disfigured by evils, which have elsewhere accompanied city growth.

The four columns which are the immediate purpose of our meeting are tokens of something wider than anything which the past cities of Delhi represent. They

Ceremony at the Indian War Memorial Arch.

are the gift of the four great Dominions of the Empire, from three of whom we are happy to welcome distinguished visitors today, and to whose Governments I would offer on behalf of India an expression of deep gratitude for their generosity, as for the good-will of which that generosity is evidence. For some they will commemorate the days when the Dominions fought shoulder to shoulder with India in the Great War; to others they will tell of the long history of devotion and self-sacrifice, which is our proud Imperial heritage; to all of us they enshrine a tradition of affection and loyalty to the Person of the King-Emperor, which is the strongest tie between the several members of our Imperial Society. Other Empires there have been whose ideal has been that of uniformity, shaping their constituent elements to a common mould. Our aim has rather been that of unity, which might join in a single whole wide differences of race and clime, and of which the bonds are those of freedom. Devoutly then let us pray that these four pillars of Fellowship, now given to India, may for ever symbolise such an association, large in thought, undaunted in faith, and powerful under Providence to work for the service of mankind.

I now have the honour to ask the representatives of Dominions to unveil the Columns.

CEREMONY AT THE INDIAN WAR MEMORIAL ARCH.

12th February 1931. In opening the Indian War Memorial Arch, on 12th February 1931, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

The memorial before us is the seal of India's homage to her sons who, in the ranks of a brave company from all four quarters of the Empire, gave their lives during the Great War. We, who today meet to do them honour, know how then the manhood of India, from plains and hills, from rich homes and poor, went forth unquestion-

Opening Ceremony of the New Water Works, Jaipur.

ing, when the King-Emperor called on it for aid. Duty led these men to diverse battle-fields, some to strange countries across strange seas, some to the frontiers of their own home-land. East and West, they quitted themselves like men, adding a noble chapter to the epic of Indian chivalry. They fought, as often before, side by side with British comrades and with their brother-soldiers from Nepal, who are also here commemorated. And so together, before their time, they met death, which is for every man the only certain fact in life's long uncertainty.

All that we remember and shall not forget. It is not therefore for ourselves that we have made this visible remembrance of great deeds, but rather that those, who after us shall look upon this monument, may learn, in pondering its purpose, something of that spirit of sacrifice and service, which the names upon its walls record.

Those who have lost friends, or dearer than friends, in war, ask that a memorial should speak of honourable pride and sadness ; and here the maker's hand has given us a praise and a lament in lasting stone. The sorrow of the world passes like the shadow of a cloud, and passing leaves more clear the remembrance of a time when men thanked God for courage, and were ready, as the summons came, to consecrate their lives to the cause of justice. We, who can judge the worth of that which these men did, may be content if others yet unborn may say of them, as was said of the Athenian dead, " They gave their lives for the common weal, and in so doing won for themselves the praise which grows not old ".

OPENING CEREMONY OF THE NEW WATER
WORKS, JAIPUR.

H. E. the Viceroy in opening the New Water Works at ^{13th March} Jaipur on 13th March said :— ^{1931.}

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me the greatest pleasure to take part in this ceremony. I

Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

think that all, who have had the opportunity of visiting Your Highness' historic capital, must have marvelled at the feat performed in earlier times by Jai Singh in founding a great town on Jaipur's present site. For the lack of any lake or running stream, and the sandy soil and barren hills all round, may well make us wonder how the necessary supplies of water were found. I have, therefore, listened with much interest to Your Highness' account of the expedients adopted in the past to provide water for this City, and of the reasons that led to the inception of the scheme which I am privileged to inaugurate to-day.

To have had the courage and foresight to take in hand and bring to successful fruition an enterprise of this magnitude reflects much credit on the Minority Administration, and I join Your Highness in congratulating all concerned on their achievement, in particular the Engineers to whose technical skill and experience the construction work is due. Although the cost in money has been large, it is difficult to imagine a purpose on which it could better have been spent, and I know well that Your Highness' subjects will appreciate in full the immense boon of having a constant supply of fresh water available in their houses or at their doors.

I now declare the Water Works open, and trust they will be of lasting benefit to the people of this City.

INVESTITURE OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF JAIPUR.

14th March 1931. H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech at the Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur on 14th March 1931 :—

Your Highness,—Among the most pleasant features of the busy life of a Viceroy are the personal relations

Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

established between himself and the Ruling Princes of India, and I think I may say, both on behalf of myself and my predecessors in office, that with no Ruling House have these relations been more intimate and friendly than with that to which Your Highness has the honour to belong. When on the death of your illustrious father, Maharaja Sir Madho Singh, the Government of India became the trustees of the administration of the Jaipur State and the guardians of its young Ruler, it was natural that the Viceroy should regard the discharge of these responsibilities as an object of his especial care, and should watch with almost a father's pride and solicitude over Your Highness' training and education. It gives me therefore the greatest satisfaction to-day to have the privilege of investing Your Highness with ruling powers. My pleasure is all the greater in that this is the only occasion, on which I have been able to take part in a ceremony of this picturesque and historic kind.

The Council administration has now lasted for eight years and more, and, now that the trustees are resigning their charge, it is fitting that I should give some account of this time of stewardship. At the outset, the problems which faced them were of more than ordinary difficulty. Methods of administration, which had worked successfully when the late Ruler was in the fulness of his vigour, began to fail in later years when the strong hand, which had ruled the destinies of Jaipur for forty years, was forced by advancing years and serious illness to relax its hold. The virtue had gone out of the old system, and the time for change had come. The call was becoming insistent for a Government more in keeping with the spirit of the times and more responsive to the people's needs. A period of transition and change is seldom without its difficulties and dangers, and the task of reorganisation demands of the administrator, as it demands of the

Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

architect who modernises an ancient structure, a large measure both of political wisdom and of caution in deciding what to remove and what to leave. New institutions and new ideas have to be grafted on to the old without destroying tradition and the spirit of the past, and with due regard to local sentiment. The scheme, when complete, must be harmonious and suited to the purpose for which it is required. I hope and believe that the minority administration has been successful in its attempts to achieve this end, and I earnestly trust that the system, which has been established, will under Your Highness' guidance secure to the people of this State a just, beneficent and progressive Government, which will repose upon a real unity of interest between the Ruler and the ruled.

I have had many opportunities of studying the reports of work done during the minority period, and I can therefore say with confidence that substantial progress has been made in the reform of all departments of the administration. The finances of the State have been placed on a thoroughly sound footing, and a regular Audit and Accounts Department has been organised. The normal revenue of the State has increased from about eighty lakhs to one hundred and thirty lakhs, and investments have increased nearly four times. A system of annual Budgets has been introduced, and a complete revision and re-organisation has been carried out in the Judicial and Revenue, and the Customs and Excise Departments. There is now also for the first time a regular Court of Wards with duly qualified Managers for the supervision of estates under the direct control of the Darbar.

I should detain you too long if I attempted to enumerate in detail the various works of public utility which

Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

have been executed, but the construction of considerable lengths of road and railway, new schemes for irrigation, and the provision of electric light and a new water-supply, are among the many sound and valuable projects for which the administration is entitled to the highest credit.

The educational needs of the people have not been overlooked. The annual expenditure incurred under this head has increased from a little over a lakh to well over five lakhs of rupees, and there has been a large increase in the number of schools and colleges, and the pupils in attendance at them. The expenditure on medical relief moreover has doubled in the last few years, and a well-equipped Zenana Hospital has just been completed. Finally, there has been a thorough re-organisation of the Military, Police, and Jail Departments. Irregular military units have been reduced, and two new first line regiments, the Jaipur Lancers and the Jaipur Infantry, have been created. These units have made striking progress, and with the Transport Corps they constitute a force of which the State may well be proud, and in which I know Your Highness takes and will take close personal interest. All three units have been provided with ample space for training grounds and with admirable buildings.

The Police have been converted into an organised force, properly trained, well-armed and well-equipped, and, perhaps most important of all, excellent lines and living conditions are being steadily substituted for the old inadequate quarters.

The facts which I have recited are a very satisfactory assurance that, on assuming the duties of your high office, Your Highness will find a State well-dowered with public works, a full treasury and a contented people. All that was of value in the old customs and traditions of the

Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

State has been, wherever possible, preserved, and the minimum of change, compatible with the needs of modern progress, has been made. I believe Your Highness already has found abundant evidence in your tours through the State that the old ties of loyalty and affection, that bind your people to the Ruler, persist as strongly as of yore. Those who have contributed to these striking results may well feel proud of their achievement, and, if I cannot mention by name all those who have assisted in the task, I would at least wish to make reference to a singular and appropriate coincidence. The foundations of the reforms were laid in the first and most difficult year of the minority by that capable officer, the tried friend of so many of Your Highness' brother Princes, Sir Reginald Glancy. To-day his brother, Mr. B. J. Glancy, relinquishes charge of the office of President, after setting the coping stone upon the work of the minority administration. To these and others, as to Mr. Reynolds, who as President of the Council and as Agent to the Governor-General has been closely connected with Jaipur for seven years, Your Highness' State owes a debt of gratitude which, I believe, it will not find it easy to repay.

Your Highness is well aware of the anxious consideration which I and my officers have given to the question of your training. There are indeed few subjects to which successive Viceroys have devoted more earnest attention, and no which opinions have varied so much, as that of the best method of educating and training young Princes. There is the risk on the one hand that an Indian Prince, if educated in Europe, may thereby become alienated from his own people. On the other hand, it is clearly desirable for a future Ruler to include in his education some knowledge and experience of the great world outside India. In Your Highness' case full weight has, I think, been given to these varying considerations,

Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

and under the guidance firstly of your old friend and tutor Mr. Mayne, and later of Lieutenant-Colonel Twiss, who is with you still, you have profited to the full from your six years at the Mayo College and your year as a Cadet, I believe the first Indian Cadet, at the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich. I know from many sources how high was the commendation Your Highness' work won from the authorities at Woolwich, and how great was the regret, among Instructors and fellow Cadets alike, when they had to bid Your Highness good-bye. For the last six months you have been receiving administrative training in your own State under the personal supervision of Mr. Glancy. In that time short though it is you have had the opportunity of studying the working of all the principal State Departments, have regularly attended meetings of the Council, and have made several tours of inspection in the more distant portions of the State. It is a great pleasure to have received from Mr. Glancy such favourable reports of the quick understanding displayed by Your Highness of State affairs, and of your appreciation of the duties of your high position.

Year by year with the general advancement of education and with the growth of new ideas, stimulated by the Great War, the art of Government becomes more difficult. A fierce and searching light now beats on all who wield authority. The old unquestioning acceptance of autocratic rule is gradually disappearing, even in those quarters where conservatism seemed to have the strongest hold. Rulers are being more and more called on to justify their authority to the ruled, and abuse of power attracts to itself criticism of growing strength. Nor can it be expected that developments in British India should fail to have their effect upon the people of Your Highness' and other States. There is abundant evidence that ere long a similar standard of administration will be demanded, which it will be impolitic and dangerous to deny.

Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

Precedent will not in all cases supply an adequate guide, and I trust therefore you will forgive me if I conclude with a few words of advice to Your Highness on this memorable occasion, when you start upon your career as Ruler of Jaipur.

Among the many factors on which the happiness of your subjects depends, I would judge the most important these :—

Promptness in the despatch of business, impartial justice as between man and man, selection of competent officials, ungrudging support of them so long as they prove worthy of your trust, and moderation in personal expenditure. It will also be your duty to watch over the development of all agencies for the public benefit such as schools, hospitals, roads, and irrigation works, to maintain close contact between yourself and your people, and to set an example, in your private and public life, to those who serve you and to those over whom you rule. From my personal knowledge of Your Highness, and from all that I have seen and heard, I feel confident that Your Highness will rise to the height of your great responsibilities. My Agent in Rajputana and the Resident in Jaipur will always be ready to help you with advice, and I know you will regard them not merely as the representatives of a Government who wish you well, but as friends, whose desire is to help you to preserve the great trust that you have received from a distinguished line of ancestors. I greatly regret that in a brief month after your accession to power I shall have laid down my present office, and have said good-bye to India and to many Indian friends, but you may be confident that my successor will evince a personal interest in your career and welfare not less warm than mine, and that I myself shall ever watch with close concern the fortunes of Jaipur and of its Ruler. Your burden will be heavy, but no Maharaja has I think entered on his responsibilities with greater advantages than you,

Banquet at Jaipur.

and I earnestly hope and believe that under Providence your rule will redound to your lasting honour and to the benefit and contentment of your subjects.

I declare Your Highness to be vested with full ruling powers.

BANQUET AT JAIPUR.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Jaipur on 14th March 1931 :—

14th March
1931.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have already had the opportunity this afternoon of expressing the great pleasure it has given me to visit Jaipur on this occasion of historic interest, and I am glad to be able once more to tell Your Highness how sincerely I appreciate the privilege that has been mine to-day, and how warmly I wish you all fortune and success in the responsible task upon which you are now entering. I desire too to express on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself our great gratitude to Your Highness both for the very kind terms in which you have just been good enough to propose our health, and for all the hospitality you have shown us during our visit to your State. I was fortunate enough to spend a few days in Jaipur two and a half years ago, and have never forgotten the impression then made on my mind by the picturesque romance of its setting, the blend of mediæval and of modern in its streets, and the colour of the life that moves among them. It has been delightful to renew that first acquaintance, and Lady Irwin and I shall both take with us to England very pleasant memories of our visit, of Your Highness' kindly welcome, and of the brilliant spectacles we have to-day been privileged to witness.

During the five years that I have spent in India Your Highness has grown from boyhood to man's estate.

Banquet at Jaipur.

Throughout that period I have watched with constant solicitude each stage in your upbringing, from the time when I first met you as a student at the Mayo College, later as a cadet at Woolwich, and now, after an interval of administrative training, on the threshold of your career as Ruler of an Indian State. In all you have distinguished yourself, in the class room, on the playing fields and on the polo ground, and in the wide circle of your friends, and you have never failed to earn the personal regard and affection of those with whom you have come in contact. All has been of the brightest promise, and I am confident that to-day will be memorable in the annals of this State as the commencement of a long and beneficent period of rule.

The years that lie before Your Highness, and especially the years immediately ahead, will bring no light responsibilities in their train. As a result of the statesmanship shown by the delegates from India at the Round Table Conference in London, the Indian States have now the prospect of taking part with British India in framing a federal constitution for the whole of this great country. The labour yet to be performed in the completion of that task will be immense. The loom is set, but skill and patience of a high order will be needed on the part of all to weave the threads aright, and to work into a pattern of wise and durable design the many intricacies of texture in the fabric. In that portion of the joint task, which will fall upon the Princes of India, Your Highness as Ruler of one of the great Rajput States will take an important share, and I can assure you that all my good wishes will follow you and all members of your Order throughout the further stages of the work to which your hands are set. It had seemed, not many weeks ago, that that work would have to be pursued in an atmosphere over-charged with uncertainty and mistrust. I am happy to think that those mists have been to a great extent dispelled, and that all parties and all interests in India will

Banquet at Jaipur.

jointly now be prepared to lend their assistance in finding solutions for the vast problems which are before us. I am under no temptation to underestimate their difficulty, or to suppose that their solution is assured, because we have happily been able to create conditions in which all may be willing to take part in their consideration. But I do believe that, if the spirit, which inspired my recent conversations with Mr. Gandhi and enabled them with the assistance of many friends to reach the result they did, can be maintained throughout the future constitutional discussions, it ought not to be impossible to set the seal upon a secure and durable understanding between India and Great Britain. We met with the single purpose, if it might be honourably accomplished, of re-establishing peace in India. That purpose, I think, I may say, we followed with a single determination to win success, facing everything, concealing nothing, and making no attempt on either side to do other than frankly meet and strive to overcome the obstacles that might stand between us and the peace we sought to win.

Throughout my conversations with Mr. Gandhi, I felt complete assurance that I could implicitly trust his word, and I am confident that he will do everything in his power to give effect to those undertakings, which are recorded in the published statement. For my own part I have never doubted that no effort within my power was too great, when the prize of success was a large step forward towards the restoration of honourable understanding between the peoples of two great countries, and I rejoice to think that the result, which my conversations with Mr. Gandhi were able to effect, has been hailed with satisfaction and approbation by those of every class and race and creed in India.

Your Highness has announced this evening the munificent donation which you have placed at Lady Irwin's disposal for any charitable purpose to which she may

Banquet at Jaipur.

wish that it should be devoted. I need hardly say that both she and I are deeply grateful to Your Highness for your most generous gift. Your Highness could indeed have thought of no way in which you could have added more to the pleasure of our visit to Jaipur than by this warm-hearted action, meaning so much to the happiness of many who deserve the charity of those more favoured than themselves with the good things of life. It is in true keeping with the tradition set by your father Sir Madho Singh, through whose magnificent contribution of 20 lakhs it will be remembered that the Indian People's Famine Trust was brought into existence.

It remains for me to thank Your Highness once more for the great reception which you and your people have given us to Jaipur. Lady Irwin and I only wish that we could have taken further advantage of Your Highness' kindness in making a longer stay in these hospitable surroundings, and we shall regret that we have not on this occasion had an opportunity of seeing something of the State outside its capital. There are, I know, many places of interest to which, had it been possible, we would have greatly desired to pay a visit, whether to the jungles of Sawai Madhopur or the ancient fortress of Ranthambhor, a name almost as illustrious as Chitor in the annals of Rajputana. But five years are too short a time in which to see even a little of all the sights that India offers to those, who wish to acquire knowledge of her ancient glories. I doubt though whether anything that even India holds could have surpassed our wonderful experiences of the last two days, and Your Highness need not fear that passing time will dull these vivid memories, or diminish the warm friendship that we shall always entertain towards the Ruler and the people of Jaipur.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to rise and drink to the health of our host His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

OPENING OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in opening the Chamber of Princes on the 16th March, 1931, said :—

16th March
1931.

Your Highnesses,—Today, for the fifth time, I have the pleasure and privilege of welcoming Your Highnesses to this Chamber, which now enters upon its tenth session. The completion of a decade in the history of an institution such as this is an occasion which naturally tempts us to look back along the road we have travelled, to count up the achievements that mark the miles behind us, and to take new thought and new hope for the journey that is still to come. For myself it means, I grieve to say, the end of what I shall always look back upon as a very happy partnership, a five years' partnership which I believe—as I think Your Highnesses believe—has been a period as critical and important as five years well could be. When the history of our time comes to be written, the last few years may indeed seem pregnant with great issues to the States, and the Round Table Conference, in which members of this Chamber played so notable a part, may prove to have been as vital to your interests as even the conclusion of your Treaties or the Proclamation of Queen Victoria. In addressing you therefore this morning, I am deeply conscious of the momentous issues which at present occupy our minds.

Before, however, I pass to other matters, it is my melancholy duty to recall that death has been busy since our last meeting, and has taken heavy toll among the Members of your Order. In two brief months last summer five great Princes passed to their rest, and since then two more have been added to that number. His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur, the senior Rajput Prince, had for many years been a famous and historic figure. Revered for his blameless life and high conception of his duty, a model of Rajput chivalry and a great and

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

courteous gentleman, he stood upon ancient ways and cared not greatly for the modern world around him. Age and infirmity prevented his joining the Chamber ; it was the poorer by his absence. In him the British Government has lost a faithful ally whose loyalty and friendship never wavered.

His Highness the Nawab of Tonk was another Prince who did not attend the sessions of this Chamber. When he died he had ruled for over 60 years, thus linking us with the time, that now seems so remote, when John Lawrence was still Viceroy of India. It was perhaps not to be expected that he would move rapidly on the lines of modern progress, but his keenness of mind, sense of humour and vitality of body at a great age will long be remembered by those who knew him. The Maharaja of Orchha too was of a generation that has now almost passed. The *doyen* of the Bundelkhand Princes, he had been prevented latterly by weight of years from regularly attending the Chamber, but those who knew him will not forget the stately figure, the keen intelligence and the dominating will. His Highness the Nawab of Rampur was the personal friend and valued adviser of many of Your Highnesses. He was a Nestor among your Order, the sage of ripe experience, and the most friendly of peace-makers, and, though he never disguised his hesitancy in attending this Chamber, there were few who at the Council table were wiser or more shrewd. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal is another whose loss will be widely felt. She had for many years been in the forefront not only of the Princes of India but of its great women, and Indian womanhood, by her death, is bereft of one of its most devoted champions. She took a prominent part in the earlier sessions of this Chamber, and after she retired in favour of her son her interest in its deliberations continued unabated. We have also to mourn the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Rana

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

of Barwani and the Nawab of Sachin. Your Highnesses will, I know, wish to express your sorrow at these great and grievous losses and to convey your sympathy to the bereaved families. You will also wish to join with me in welcoming cordially to your deliberations those on whose shoulders have fallen their duties and responsibilities. In that welcome I would desire to include those other young Princes who are now joining this Chamber for the first time.

Let me now briefly claim Your Highnesses' attention to certain items of business which have recently come within the purview of Members of this Chamber. Your Highnesses will remember that last year you passed a Resolution recommending that an Indian Ruling Prince should lead the Indian Delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations at least once in a cycle of three years. It fell to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to be the leader of the Delegation at the meeting of the League Assembly last September, and I am sure that the statement which he will present to the Chamber will be as instructive as any of those made by his distinguished predecessors. His Highness will also give you an account of his work as the Representative of India at the Imperial Conference. We need no assurance that His Highness discharged these high responsibilities with dignity and judgment, and he deserves the deep gratitude of this Chamber for undertaking this onerous duty at a time when so many other pressing matters demanded his attention.

There are also certain questions which have recently been under examination by the Standing Committee, and to which I would wish to make reference. For, though changing conditions may involve a fresh examination of some of these problems, the valuable work which the

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

Committee has done stands as a foundation for further constructive effort which has yet to be undertaken.

The important subject of Air Navigation in Indian States has now reached a compromise, thanks to friendly concessions by all the parties concerned, and I understand that His Highness the Chancellor will lay a summary of this case before you.

The question of the future of the Chiefs' Colleges has also been decided, and the scheme which has recently received the approval of the Secretary of State will be brought into effect as early as possible. I trust that it will help to infuse fresh life into these institutions, and in increasing measure to enlist, among Your Highnesses and your nobles, the sympathy upon which their future well-being must largely depend.

Another matter of no small concern to the States is the step which my Government have recently taken, following the recommendation of the Road Development Committee, in imposing an additional duty on motor spirit, and allotting the proceeds for expenditure on roads. A share of the income will be devoted to the Indian States, and to assure co-ordination of policy periodic "Road Conferences" will be held, at which the States will be represented. The amounts available for distribution may be limited for some years to come, but they are likely to grow with the gradual improvement of communications, and I feel sure that Your Highnesses will co-operate with my Government in this highly important work, which means so much to the development of India's agriculture, industry and commerce, and to the general prosperity of the people.

The brunt of the work which it is the duty of this Chamber to perform naturally falls upon the Members of the Standing Committee. Your Highnesses would no doubt wish me to offer our sincere thanks to His Highness

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

the Chancellor and the Members of the Standing Committee for the devoted labours undertaken by them on behalf of the Chamber during the past year. For reasons, of which you are well aware, the year has been a peculiarly exacting one, but Their Highnesses have given freely and ungrudgingly of their time and effort in the interests of your Order. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has held the post of Chancellor throughout the five years of my Viceroyalty, and during this critical and important period—a period in which he has personally had to meet, and has successfully exposed, much undeserved calumny—he has spared neither time nor money in performing the duties and upholding the dignity of his high office. Your Highnesses are, I know, deeply conscious of the services he has rendered on your behalf, and for my own part I would wish to acknowledge personally and warmly the whole-hearted assistance he has given to me in all matters affecting the affairs of Your Highnesses and Government. I desire also to pay tribute, as I feel certain will Your Highnesses, to the work done by His Highness the Maharao of Cutch during the time he carried on the duties of the Chancellor while His Highness of Patiala was absent in Europe. His Highness at no small inconvenience to himself remained for a considerable time in Delhi in order to maintain touch with myself and the States representation in London.

If time and Your Highnesses' patience permitted, I might have been tempted to survey in more complete manner the achievements of the Chamber since its birth ten years ago. But I may perhaps sum up briefly some of the useful purposes it has served. It has given us, for one thing, an arena for mutual and friendly discussions, which have clarified our ideas on either side and assisted towards the settlement of many questions at issue between you and the Government of India, and of

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

many points of political practice and procedure. It has had valuable reactions moreover in ways more personal to Your Highnesses yourselves. Apart from training the younger Members of your Order in public speaking and debate, it has brought about a unity and solidarity of feeling on matters of common interest, that are of importance not only to yourselves but to all India. Even those who have taken no part in the debates of the Chamber must recognise the advantages it has obtained for their Order as a whole. Without trespassing on the individuality of States, the Chamber has shown, and Your Highnesses have been quick to seize, the value of common discussion. The examination of your position and problems by the Butler Committee gave an impulse to this spirit of unity, and no one will ignore the strength it has attained under the stimulus of the recent deliberations in London. Whatever be the result of these, I have no doubt that the spirit which enabled the States' Delegation to speak with so much authority on behalf of the Order was born and nurtured in this Chamber. What part the Chamber is to play in the India of the future we can scarcely now foretell. It may be that it has already served its early purpose and that it must now yield place to the new Chambers of a federated India. But, whatever be in store, we can say with confidence that in its ten years' history it has played no inconsiderable part, and that it has given those who brought it into being good cause to reflect with pride upon their handiwork.

I now come to the topic of greatest importance to our session, which is, I know, engaging your anxious consideration. When your delegates sailed from India last autumn to attend the Round Table Conference, few of us, I imagine, had anticipated or foreseen the dramatic announcement made after their arrival in London. I had of course from time to time, and even as late as last

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

July, when I conferred with certain of Your Highnesses in Simla, had the opportunity of discussing with some of you the advantages which a federal system in this country would clearly offer, and the mutual benefits likely to accrue from some form of financial and economic union between the States and British India. But I had no certain indication that the States would as yet be willing, by surrender of the necessary powers, to make a system of federation a reality, and it is therefore with all the greater cordiality that I welcome the statesmanlike decision which your representatives took to join with British India in the constructive task of fashioning a constitution for the complete entity of this great country. I have followed with the keenest interest the record of your discussions in the various committees, and I am glad to see that, while the most difficult problems still await solution, you are resolved to face them frankly in a genuine spirit of compromise and concession. Both these qualities will be much needed in the negotiations that still lie before you and the representatives of British India, but if they are freely given I am confident that your labours will be crowned by the achievement of a united, stable, and prosperous India within the British Empire. I wish the Delegation all success in commending the results of their work to their brother Princes and in enlisting their support in the further discussions that await them. For, if counsels are divided, the task of fashioning a cohesive scheme of federation must be seriously handicapped, and it is therefore to be hoped that the co-operation of at least a great majority of the States may be assured without delay.

It is a matter for personal regret to me that I shall not be with you to aid in the continuance and applaud the completion of your task. For before many days are past the time will have come for me to bid farewell to Your Highnesses and this Chamber. When that time

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

comes, and when I look back on the years I have spent in India, among my most pleasant recollections will be my associations with Your Highnesses and your States. They have ranked high among my most important duties, but their performance has been greatly lightened by the warm and universal friendship extended to me by Your Highnesses. The events of these years and the subjects we have discussed have been so many and diverse, that agreement has, in the nature of things, not always been possible. But I think that you have believed that I have ever been actuated by what I considered best in the common interests of the Rulers and peoples of the States, and on this last formal occasion of addressing you I would wish to acknowledge and thank you for that confidence. I must thank you also for many happy memories of days spent as a guest in your States and for much generous hospitality. I am well aware that there are carping critics who are ready to accuse the Princes of India of wasting their substance in entertaining Viceroys, and who believe that such visits are compact of pomp and ceremonial, in the midst of which moves a Viceroy, blinded to the true conditions existing in the States. As you know, and I know, this picture is far from reality. The conditions, difficulties and problems of the States would mean little to a Viceroy who never left Simla or Delhi, and did not see things for himself and with his own eyes. The picturesque ceremonial that represents the ancient traditions of the past, the varied entertainment which is so hospitably provided for a few lighter hours, form only the smaller part of the intimacy which is a feature of these occasions. I personally can remember long heart to heart talks, in which every aspect of administrative problems and difficulties has been discussed ; I have met your officials and seen your institutions and he would be unworthy of the post of Viceroy who could not derive some profit and form some judgments from

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

such experiences. There have been cases too when these visits have seen the settlement of serious and weighty problems at issue between my Government and the Rulers. And, last but not least, who can claim to know India, and India's wonderful history, who has not travelled widely in the States and seen the age-old monuments of ancient India, the Buddhist temples, the deserted cities of vanished kingdoms, the fortresses famous for stories of Rajput, Mughal and Maratha courage and chivalry, and the ports and harbours whence from times immemorial the trade of India has set forth? It is indeed hard to name a State that has not added to my knowledge of, and interest in, all for which this great country stands. For this and much more I tender to Your Highnesses my thanks on the eve of my departure. If, on rare occasions, we have disagreed, we have disagreed as friends, and I say in all sincerity that your unswerving friendship has done much to lighten the inevitable burden of my high office.

The course of events has decided that I should sever my official association with Your Highnesses at a momentous period in your history. You stand at the parting of the ways and the road to which your deliberations in London have guided you is, I believe, the road which will best promote your own interests, the interests of your subjects and of India. It means, as we all recognise, a departure from a tradition which has lasted for a hundred years, which has, taking it all in all, served you well, and under which your States have been preserved and brought to their present point of advancement and progress. It means a passing of the old conditions in which you have been able to develop on your own lines, affected but little by the movements around you. Your internal affairs have for the most part been excluded from the questioning of outsiders, and you have had every opportunity of achieving the ancient Hindu ideal of Kingship. Success in that achievement has varied with the individuality of

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

- . different Rulers, but I am glad to testify, both from my own observation and from the evidence of those who are qualified to judge, that there has, in the main, been a steady improvement in the standards of administration in your States. The spirit, which inspires a Government and in which its functions are carried out, is more important than its constitutional form, and whether it be autocracy, constitutional monarchy or democracy its success will be guided by the extent to which it provides certain essential conditions for the welfare of its subjects. Your Highnesses will perhaps allow me to indicate briefly what in my view these are. There must be a reign of law based either expressly or tacitly on the broad goodwill of the community : individual liberty and rights must be protected, and the equality of all members of the State before the law be recognised. To secure this an efficiently organised police force must be maintained, and a strong and competent judiciary, secure from arbitrary interference by the executive and irremovable so long as they do their duty. Taxation should be as light as circumstances permit, easy of collection, certain, and proportionate to the means of the tax-payer to pay. The personal expenditure of the Ruler should be as moderate as will suffice to maintain his position and dignity, so that as large a proportion as possible of the State revenues may be available for the development of the life of the community, such as communications, education, health and social services, agriculture, housing and other kindred matters. There should be some effective means of ascertaining the needs and desires of its subjects and of keeping close touch between the Government and the governed. Religious toleration and conciliation in all disputes between the subjects are important, and last but not least is the need to choose and trust good counsellors. By this, perhaps more than aught else, is a wise ruler known, and the fulness of his trust in competent advisers

Opening of the Chamber of Princes.

will, in great part, be the measure of the confidence which his people repose in him.

I must not however allow my address to Your Highnesses to develop into a treatise on the theory of Government. Some may say that it is not always so easy to carry such precepts into practice, but there are, I believe, few who would not readily admit these minima requirements of good administration, and you will remember that a Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner commending its essentials was passed not long ago with unanimity in this Chamber. There is no use in disguising from ourselves that the new order of things and the irresistible logic of events are lifting the veil from much that has hitherto been considered of private concern, and more and more factors are tending to bring your affairs into publicity. Where there is criticism of any of your administrations, be it based on reasonable grounds or scurrilous and misinformed, the best answer on the part of those who have nothing to hide is the issue of full and regular administration reports from which the public may learn how your Government is carried on. Such publication has always been desirable, but it will be essential when, in these changing times, you come to take your part in the federal constitution of all India. That constitution will not affect your internal autonomy in non-federal matters, but in common subjects you will have to bring to the common pool information of which the Political Department and the Government of India have hitherto been the sole repositories. The time is ripe for the change and, believe me, I welcome it. I welcome the enlargement of vision, which sees beyond territorial boundaries, and embraces in one wide sweep the identity of interests and solidarity of British India and the Indian States. But let us not forget that, as you acquire a share in the control of common subjects, and as your internal affairs become of increasing interest to public opinion in India, there will come to you more and more

Entertainment for the Government of India Secretariat.

responsibility for bringing your administrations to the level demanded of all modern Governments. I acknowledge gratefully that there are many States that have nothing to fear, where within the compass of their resources all that is possible is done for the welfare and progress of their subjects. But there are still others to which this description cannot apply; where personal extravagance has injured the financial stability on which sound administration must rest, and where too little is spent on the welfare and advancement of the people. Where such conditions exist, they cannot fail to be a danger to the whole body of your Order, and I appeal to Your Highnesses to use all your influence, as the Viceroy must use his, to secure improvement. There will then be little reason for apprehension. Your personal and dynastic relations are likely to continue to lie through the Viceroy with the Crown, and your guarantees will remain under the same conditions as heretofore. Let it therefore be your endeavour so to rule your people that they will be as proud to be subjects of your States as they will be proud of your States' partnership in a federation of all India.

Your Highnesses, you will require both courage and wisdom to deal with the many new problems with which you will be confronted. My last words in my last opening address in this Chamber are to express the hope and belief that you will be found not unequal to the task, and in all sincerity and with all goodwill to wish Your Highnesses Godspeed in your efforts for the greater happiness and well-being of your States and of India within the orbit of the British Empire.

ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
SECRETARIAT.

21st March
1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy entertained the members of the Government of India Secretariat at a Garden Party at the

Entertainment for the Government of India Secretariat.

Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on 21st March 1931, and addressed them as follows :—

Gentlemen,—Four weeks today Lady Irwin and I leave India, and it has been a great pleasure to me that so many members of the Government of India Secretariat have been able to come here this afternoon, for, apart from the privilege of welcoming you to the Viceroy's House, Lady Irwin and I were anxious to take this opportunity of saying good-bye and of trying to express something of the gratitude I personally feel for the part you have played in carrying on the administration of this great country during my five years of office as Viceroy. All who have held official positions under Government know how much they owe to an efficient and willing office staff, and I am quite sure that the heads of every department and every branch in the Government of India would wish me to pay tribute to the high standard of work and the high sense of duty that is to be found among the extensive establishments under their charge. The ministerial staff of Government have often to work in busy seasons at uncomfortably high pressure, some of their work must sometimes seem to them as tedious routine, and they no doubt often think the ways of their superior officers mysterious. I expect they ask themselves, as we all do sometimes, "Are the results I have produced really worth all this time and trouble and are they really appreciated by those for whom I work?" I can readily reassure you on this score. For, unless every part of a great machine performs its proper function fully and efficiently, the loss of power is very quickly discerned, and no one discerns it quicker or on the contrary takes more pride in the smooth running of every part, great or small, than the Chief Engineer.

The Government of India is a great machine, but it is also a human machine—and you may be very sure

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Chelmsford Club Dinner.

therefore that the part which every one of you plays in the central administration of India has its own particular value and importance, and that no one appreciates this more than those in authority, whose own efficiency depends so much on the thoroughness, accuracy and despatch of those who assist them. I have little doubt that, if you searched the heart of a Secretary to Government, he would confess that he would willingly part with his best Deputy Secretary, but that only over his dead body could you rob him of an efficient Superintendent or Clerk. Thus the future of India depends very closely upon the work of each one of you, and I would have you all believe that, if you do that work well, you are rendering service to your country not less valuable than any other.

In saying good-bye to you today, therefore, I wish to thank you, one and all, for services well and faithfully performed, and to say that, though many thousand miles of sea may lie between us, I shall always retain a very warm admiration for the secretariat staff of the Government of India and shall send them constantly across the waters my warmest good wishes for their own welfare and for that of the India which they represent and serve.

CHELMSFORD CLUB DINNER.

26th March
1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Chelmsford Club dinner at Delhi on the 26th March 1931 :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—This is the third time on which you have allowed me the privilege of being the guest of the Chelmsford Club, and, while I should have been grateful at any time for your generosity, I appreciate it in special degree now that I am on the verge of bringing my term of office to an end. But it makes the task of acknowledging your kindness all the more heavy, and your President has allowed his natural sense

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

of charity to come perilously near inducing him to depart from that strict veracity and regard for fact which are always the dominant qualities of his profession. But I at least should be the last person to complain if Sir B. L. Mitter had permitted our friendship to affect favourably his judgment.

He has spoken of some of the difficulties of the last few years, and no one perhaps better than I has cause to know how difficult they have been. No one better than I has had opportunity of judging how deeply and how strongly the currents have been running, or how anxious has been the task to which anyone holding the office of Viceroy in these days would have been compelled to address his energies.

I conceive that task in the main to have been that of attempting to secure smooth running for the coach laden with the relations between India and Great Britain. That coach is drawn by two horses, namely, the public opinion of India and the public opinion of Great Britain, and it is the duty of the Viceroy to do his best to see that those two horses pull with, and not against, one another. Time and again in the last two or three years, when there seemed fair chance of getting nearer to this smooth and even pulling by the two horses, the chance has been wrecked either in India or in England.

Three years ago, when Sir John Simon's Commission, to whom more and more India will come to realise that she owes a great debt of gratitude, was at work here, the character of its work, and its own functions *vis-a-vis* Indian opinion on the one side and Parliament on the other, were the subject of grave misunderstanding, with much consequent damage to British Indian relations.

Again, a year and a half ago, when with the authority of His Majesty's Government I made my

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

declaration of the 1st of November 1929, it seemed for a time as if we really might succeed in getting British opinion and Indian opinion harmonised. I have been criticised for my share in the making of that declaration ; but, looking back over the time that has elapsed since then, I can see nothing that would have led me to act differently from what I did, and I have no doubt at all that the clear making of that statement was right.

After all, in that portion of it which was most keenly attacked I said nothing that had not been said, or directly implied, by speakers of every British Party for several years past, and, as I remember pointing out at the time, my own instrument of Instructions spoke in exactly similar sense. What was the result in England ? Instead of saying " Dominion Status ? Of course it is our intention to give India Dominion Status. What other purpose could we have in view as the goal of her growth ? There are difficulties of course ; Indians know them as well as we do ; but difficulties are meant to be defeated, and we shall in the Conference that is proposed strain every nerve with Indians to find the best and the quickest way of defeating them ", the general note of British criticism was that anyone who talked about Dominion Status in connection with India must be mentally affected, and that the idea was almost too fantastic to merit serious discussion. What wonder that Indian feeling was offended, and a real chance of approach was thrown away !

Lastly, we all know what has been the history of the last twelve months, and how greatly the campaign of Civil Disobedience has puzzled and baffled and annoyed average opinion in Great Britain.

And so, if we are to avoid these recurring misunderstandings, we must at all costs diagnose the problem aright, for on correct diagnosis wise treatment of it will depend.

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Chelmsford Club Dinner.

There are those who see in the present movement and stirring of thought in India merely a movement engineered by a negligible minority, which ought never to have been allowed to attain its present importance, in that much of it is frankly seditious, and with firm Government could readily be suppressed. Therefore, the conclusion is—let us only have firm Government and get back, as we rapidly shall, to the good old days of paternal administration, with populous markets reserved for British trade !

That diagnosis I believe to be superficial, distorted and wholly divorced from reality. That there is sedition in India no one will deny ; that the numbers who are politically-minded are a fractional minority of the whole is also true ; but these things are not the whole, or the most important part, of the picture before which we stand.

Great Britain will delude herself if she does not recognise that, beneath all the distinctions of community, class and social circumstance, there is a growing intellectual consciousness, or more truly self-consciousness, which is very closely akin to what we generally term nationalism. I know well that any general statement of this kind requires great modification if it is to fit the manifold diversities of the great continent of India, and this feeling of which I speak makes itself felt through a great variety of ways. But that it is a real thing and a thing of growing potential force, few who know modern India intimately will be concerned to deny.

The two principal fields of expression for this growing self-consciousness with which we are concerned are the political and the economic, in which fields the natural demand is for political control by Indians of their own affairs and economic development of India's resources for India's good.

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

I would say one thing about each of these aspects of a single movement. No Englishman can, without being false to his own history, and in recent years to his own pledges, take objection to pursuit by others of their own political liberty ; nor have I ever been able to appreciate the attitude of those who might be the first in Great Britain to exhort their countrymen only to buy British goods and yet would regard a movement for the encouragement of Swadeshi industry in India as something reprehensible and almost, if not quite, disloyal.

I am well aware that in these matters the methods employed are of the essence of the business, and that is why in my agreement with Mr. Gandhi I laid stress, which he readily accepted, upon the importance of allowing traders and purchasers complete liberty of action so long as they were occupied in the discharge of legitimate avocations. It may be that from time to time these methods of persuasion, propaganda and advertisement will be transgressed. What I am however concerned at the moment to assert is that anyone like myself, who has preached on behalf of British industry in Great Britain and advocated tariffs for its protection, seems to me debarred from raising points of principle against those who would wish India to supply, as far as she may, her own requirements from her own resources. It is also well to remember that trade will only flourish when it reposes upon a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis, and that the more successful Great Britain can be in finding a solution of the political side of the problem the more will she be doing, by the restoration of general friendly conditions, for the benefit of British trade.

It follows that, just as my diagnosis is different from that other which I sketched just now, so I would consider that a different treatment was required. In so far as the present movement involves any of the forces that we

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

call nationalism, I would repeat what I have said more than once, that an attempt to meet the case with rigid and unyielding opposition is merely to repeat the unintelligent mistake of King Canute. And therefore it behoves us to seek another and a better way.

That way has surely been the way of the Round Table Conference, and I would take this occasion again to thank all the delegates to that Conference, whether from the States or from British India, for the immense work they there did. No one I know hopes more earnestly than does His Majesty's Government that the work which the Round Table Conference so well began should, with the help of those delegates reinforced if possible by others, be brought to an early and successful issue. What can we say of the auguries for this happening? I have never shared the enthusiastic anticipations of those who said that, because Civil Disobedience was no longer operative under the agreement that was reached, all trouble was automatically over. It is not possible for the sea to become immediately calm when it has been violently agitated by a storm, even though the storm has passed. But I did think, and think today, that the re-establishment of peace was an essential preliminary of any approach to the real constitutional problems.

The spirit of that agreement Government will do everything to implement. Mr. Gandhi I know will do the same, and I would trust that in all quarters a real attempt may be made to judge of the present situation, not in any grudging spirit appropriate to the atmosphere of an uncertain and manœuvring truce, but rather with the intention—each and everyone of us in our spheres of influence—to do everything in our power that may assist the conversion of the present cessation of civil strife into a permanent and enduring peace.

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

There is great compelling necessity for the best brains of India to take their part in the constructive constitutional work that lies before us. The Round Table Conference has indeed drawn us a powerful and promising framework, and he is a very shallow critic who would undervalue what the Conference actually achieved. But the men who achieved it know better than others how much yet has to be done by way of fitting and adjusting the different parts and delicate connections that are required before the fruit of their labour can be secured. Many questions will arise between British India and the States that will be difficult of adjustment and will be adjusted only if both sides can approach them in the spirit that will not be denied a settlement. And there will be many similar questions arising between India and Great Britain. I must however frankly confess that I have never been greatly impressed with the reality of the distinction, that it is sometimes sought to draw in many of these matters, between the interests of India and the interests of Great Britain, for it would be clean contrary to all nature if the result of the long relationship between the two had not been, in most of the things that matter, to create a community and not a divergence of interest.

Defence, for example, is obviously a vital interest to India herself, but it is also surely a British and Imperial interest of the first magnitude. The communal difficulty, so forcibly and so unhappily brought to our notice these last two days, is a prime Indian interest, and one for which solution bringing security and content in its train must be found, if Indian political life is gradually to be free to grow on broader lines. But surely no one would deny that it was not less an interest and a responsibility of Great Britain, if and when she hands over power, to satisfy herself that in the new dispensation the just rights of minorities will not be imperilled.

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

Again, the assurance of British traders against unfair discrimination may certainly be, and no doubt is, in British interests, and I constantly see it suggested that there is a natural antagonism here between the true interests of India and Great Britain. That view I believe to be mistaken : indeed, I would go further and say that the assurance of fair treatment to British traders is an assurance that Indian leaders should be prepared to give in the direct interest of India's credit in the world, on which development of her resources and raising of the standard of her people's life depend.

So with finance. The safeguards suggested at the Round Table Conference have been the object of some criticism and also I think of some misunderstanding. Indian opinion is surely not less anxious than any opinion in Great Britain to see ample security provided where necessary for the good of India in the sphere of credit and finance. It is the considered view of His Majesty's Government that in the interest of India it is imperative to provide effective safeguards for the maintenance of financial stability and for the protection of India's credit. As the Secretary of State recently stated in Parliament His Majesty's Government have reached the conclusion that to secure this purpose the financial safeguards discussed at the Round Table Conference are essential. If, however, in the course of further constitutional discussions any of those participating in them desire to suggest other financial safeguards, His Majesty's Government, in accordance with the terms of clause 2 of the statement issued on March 5th by the Governor-General in Council, would not wish to limit their right to do so and would be prepared to give such suggestions careful consideration. If, in the case of any particular safeguard, alternative suggestions are made, it follows from what I have said concerning the principal purpose, which in the interest of India His Majesty's Government

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

deem it their duty to secure, that the acceptance by His Majesty's Government of such alternative suggestions would depend upon the ability of those proposing them to convince His Majesty's Government that they would be equally effective for the purpose above described.

It is not perhaps in this constitutional field that the gravest of India's difficulties will be found to lie. Nearly five years ago at Simla, in speaking to this Club, I made a very earnest appeal to the leaders of religious communities to throw all their weight on the side of religious and communal peace. That appeal, with the news of Cawnpore still staring us in the face, I repeat today. Governments can here do comparatively little to remove root causes. They cannot change a people's soul. It is the communities themselves that must learn toleration and restraint, if India is to be spared the spectacle of these periodic outbursts of savagery, and if she is to have any hope of building for herself a balanced national order in which all men may live and move and have their being. Many public bodies have been good enough to offer me addresses of farewell. I shall no doubt receive messages of farewell from many good friends I have made in India. But no message could so cheer me before or after I leave India as the news that a real settlement of Hindu-Moslem differences had been effected.

The first necessity of progress in this, or indeed in any other of these matters, is that everybody should do what they can to assist the restoration of a calmer atmosphere, and it is in this respect that I have been told that the Government of India and I myself have made Mr. Gandhi's task far harder by failure to commute the sentences recently passed upon Bhagat Singh and his companions. I can well believe that our action has at this juncture been a real difficulty for Mr. Gandhi and those associated with him, and I owe it to Indian opinion

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

generally that I should take this opportunity, in a few words, of placing them in clear possession of my own thought. I take full responsibility for the decision at which Government arrived. I know no heavier responsibility that rests upon the shoulders of a Viceroy than the decision of whether he should or should not make use of his special power by way of commutation or remission of sentences. As I listened the other day to Mr. Gandhi putting the case for commutation forcibly before me I reflected, first, of what significance it surely was that the apostle of non-violence should so earnestly be pleading the cause of devotees of a creed so fundamentally opposite to his own. I reflected also upon the quality of the responsibility that falls on those in whose hands it lies and whose duty it is to decide finally whether their fellow men should live or die. And I am free to confess that I should frankly regard that responsibility as an intolerable one to any man to support, unless he guided his conduct by adherence to certain very clear and definite principles. What should those be? First of all, he must satisfy himself that no facts have been brought to his notice which were not before the sentencing tribunals and which might suggest a possible miscarriage of justice. There was nothing of this sort in this case, and it is significant that none of the petitions in any form, directly or indirectly, suggested that the prisoners were other than guilty of the crimes alleged against them. For the rest, I conceive it right that I should have regard, in the exercise of clemency, to the actual merits, as I can judge them, of the case before me. On these principles I from time to time, on the advice of my Council, concur in or remit death sentences that have been imposed. But I should regard it as wholly wrong to allow my judgment on these matters to be influenced or deflected by purely political considerations. I am well aware of the interest taken by large numbers of people in the fate of Bhagat

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

Singh. But I could discover no argument by which commutation of that sentence could have been justified that would not have involved, if justice was to be equal, the commutation of all other sentences involving the death penalty. For I could imagine no case in which, under the law, the penalty had been more directly deserved. I have seen it suggested in the Press that, even supposing commutation was impossible, it was highly undesirable that the executions should take place on the eve of the Congress meeting at Karachi. I was fully alive to these considerations, and I will state with complete frankness the principal reason which led me to think the suggestion of postponement was not one that my Government could possibly accept.

To suggest to Congress that there was after all a chance that the sentence would be remitted, whereas I should have in my own mind been clear that the sentence must be carried out as soon as the Congress had concluded, seemed to me—as it would have to you—a wholly indefensible proceeding. I am quite prepared to think that it would have made the immediate atmosphere at Karachi easier, but only at the cost of enabling Congress to say with justice that it had been treated by the Viceroy and by the Government with complete lack of candour. For those reasons I felt that the action suggested to me was impossible.

In the controversies of the present day we not infrequently hear the phrase “defeatist” on the lips of those who think that force and repression are the remedies for all our present troubles. It is worth analysing what the word means. The word no doubt implies that you are engaged in a warfare, and that you are going more than half way to meet defeat. Now, Mr. President, it is very easy to be wise after events, especially for those critics who have, and can have, no

Chelmsford Club Dinner.

responsibility for their guidance. But I think we complicate the whole question by using language that suggests that Great Britain and India, or any substantial part of either, are in a state of warfare with one another. Defeatism I further conceive to be a state of mind in which, through paralysing atrophy of faith, men lose the confidence and vigour of hope, and recoil from the difficulties involved in the attempt to carry through the high mission on which they had embarked. Who then to-day are the real defeatists? Those who face facts with honesty and the future with hope, and meet difficulties with the single desire to overcome them, or those who deceive themselves with the belief that they are living in an India of ten or twenty years ago, and who would have us employ methods and yield ourselves victims to a mentality which must destroy irrevocably any hope of retaining a contented India within the Empire?

Whatever may happen to others, let us not lose our faith; we shall have disappointments; we shall have to face failures; many men will lose heart; many men will misjudge each other's actions; trust will flag; mistrust will again rear its ugly head. But my faith in British statesmanship and good-will and my faith in the patriotism and good sense of India are both too great to permit me to join the ranks of those who would say that India is a 'Lost Dominion' of the Crown.

It is with real regret that I take leave of India at this critical period in her history; but that regret is diminished by the reflection that she will receive in my stead one who has already justly earned a secure place in Indian hearts, and who will return to new responsibilities fortified not only by knowledge of Government here in two great Presidencies, but also in the eldest of the King's Dominions. This ripe experience of men and things will stand him in good stead, and I feel no doubt

Address to the Members of the Central Legislature.

whatever that India will find in him a very sincere friend and very wise counsellor. For myself I can only say that I have done my best, that I shall carry away with me from India a real affection for her people, and gratitude for many kindnesses that Lady Irwin and I have so constantly received at their hands, and that wherever I am I shall always welcome any opportunity that may present itself of continuing to serve her to the best of my ability and powers.

ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.

28th March
1931.

In addressing the Members of the Central Legislature on the 28th March 1931, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I have come to take formal farewell of the Members of both Houses of the Central Legislature, and it is not therefore my intention to embark upon matters of controversy. It might however appear discourteous to the House if I were to pass over without remark the difficult position that has developed in connection with the Finance Bill. Before finally deciding upon the action it may be my duty to take, I propose to convene a small conference of Leaders in both Houses with the members of my Government to discuss the situation.

This occasion of farewell for me is of necessity tinged with much regret, for it marks the close of my official connection with these two bodies, whose deliberations I have always watched with the keenest interest, and whose presence in Delhi and Simla has given me the privilege of meeting, and taking counsel with, so many public men from all quarters of India.

This might seem to be the moment to survey the past five years, and to sum up the progress which has been

Address to the Members of the Central Legislature.

achieved in the various spheres of the national life in which we here, as devotees of the science of politics, are particularly interested. But I know, gentlemen, that you are drawing to the close of an arduous session, and I do not wish to detain you long. Nor is the period of a Viceroyalty necessarily a self-contained era and, though to a Viceroy his five years of office must always appear as an outstanding epoch of his life, the historian of the future will be likely to mark the passage of events by tendencies, rather than by persons who for a period were privileged to play their part upon this great stage.

But before taking leave of you, there are a few things which I should like to say. First of these is to express to you something of the debt in which I and my Government feel you have placed us by your very presence here this session. During the last year the country has passed through dark days. It was the opinion of some that nothing good could come out of participation in the legislative bodies of this country. You, gentlemen, thought otherwise, and, in acting as you did, you acted, many of you, in the face of unpleasantness, risks and bitter reproaches of which I am only too well aware. Had you not had the courage of your convictions, the continuity of Indian parliamentary progress might well have suffered a rude set-back, and therefore it is not only I and my Government, but the whole country, who owe you gratitude for the service you have rendered. In this appreciation of your public spirit I would wish also to include, with grateful recognition, the members of your sister-bodies in the Provinces. We cannot now predict how soon a revised constitution can be framed and brought into being ; but I would wish here to assure you, if such assurance is required, that there is not, and never has been, any intention in my mind of putting an earlier term to the life of the present

Address to the Members of the Central Legislature.

legislature than that which is laid down by the Government of India Act, or may be rendered necessary by the supervention of a new constitution.

At present most of us are absorbed in the problems of the immediate future, and it may be that there are some who feel that, beyond the careful discharge of their duties within the House, there is little that can be done of use outside in their capacity of representatives of the people. But I would venture, not in any spirit of infallible knowledge but as one who has been brought up among politics in a country, where political institutions have flourished for several centuries, and from which therefore there is perhaps something to be learnt, to suggest one direction in which Members of the Legislatures can do much. That work is the political education of their constituents. I am well aware of the difficulties in the way—the wide areas to be covered, in many cases the difficulties of travel, and the lack of education among a large proportion of those to whom they must appeal. But these are difficulties which can be overcome, and I conceive it to be one of the many obligations resting upon the Members of this Legislature, on whom depends in so large a measure the standard of political thought, that they should strive to bring home to their electorates the rights and responsibilities of each elector and thus perform a work of immense benefit in the evolution of the constitutional life of India.

I need not tell you, gentlemen, how earnestly I hope that whatever may be done within these walls, under the present constitution, or under whatever changed conditions the future may have in store, may redound to the benefit and happiness of the people of India. Controversy there must be, for controversy is an inseparable feature—if not the very purpose—of parliamentary institutions. But I trust that, in all the clash

Police Parade at New Delhi.

of opinion and debate, rancour and bitterness may here find no place, and that, if men must differ as to the method most suited to attain the ultimate object that all seek to serve, they may agree in paying mutual respect to the motives which underlie their actions. I would go further and ask that, whenever Members of these Houses feel constrained to disagree with views advocated by their brother politicians in England, they will at least not lightly be tempted to question their sincerity. I shall be in England, the majority of you will remain in India. Though many miles will separate us, I trust that our association in the objects which we both have so close at heart may not be impaired. In all sincerity I would assure you of my abiding interest in every matter that concerns the political life of India and of the attention with which I shall follow the record of your achievements, both corporate and individual. In bidding you farewell, I earnestly wish that all good fortune may attend you, and that every blessing may rest upon the people of India whom you represent, and among whom it has been my privilege and happiness to live and work during the last five years.

POLICE PARADE AT NEW DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Police Parade at New Delhi on 28th March 1931 :—

28th March
1931.

I have often had opportunities, during my tours in different parts of India, of trying to express to the members of the Indian Police whom I have met something of the gratitude which Government, and I personally, owe them for the way in which they carry out their important and responsible task. Those occasions however are usually of a private and informal kind and I am therefore very glad indeed to welcome such a

Police Parade at New Delhi.

representative gathering of the Indian Police to Delhi, both because it gives me the privilege of presenting a number of richly-earned decorations, and because it affords me a chance of thanking your Service in a more formal and public way for the conspicuously good work they have done during my five years of office.

They have not been easy years for me, or for you, or for anyone else concerned in the administration of this country. There have been times, especially in the last twelve months, when things have been done which have been a severe test of good temper and restraint, when hours of duty have been long and more than usually arduous, and danger to life and limb has had to be constantly faced. It is greatly to the credit of the Police that they have taken these exceptional difficulties as all in the day's work. Officers and men have shown a fine example of loyalty, courage and discipline and have raised the high traditions of their service to a level of which they may be rightly proud. You may rest assured that the Government on their part are very conscious of the debt they owe your Service on this account. The discipline and efficiency of a country's Police Force is to a high degree the criterion of good government and the measure of the extent to which the administration retains the confidence of the population at large. I think that the Government of India may well congratulate themselves on having, as protectors of the King's peace, a force so efficiently organised, so well-disciplined, and possessed of so fine a spirit as the Indian Police.

The decorations I have just had the honour of presenting are a recognition of a small part of the sterling work and gallantry for which all ranks of the Service may justly take credit. The written record of those deeds is before those who are present today, and they

Address from the Indian Christian Community.

need no words of mine to commend them. But I would mention the name of one whose distinguished service in the Police will come to an end a few days hence. Sir David Petrie's name has long been familiar throughout the length and breadth of India as that of one who has worthily upheld the highest traditions of his Service, and I should not wish to let this occasion pass without thanking him for the invaluable work he has performed for Government in his present responsible post and in many others.

There is nothing further for me to say except to wish you good-bye and good luck. In doing so I wish to assure you of the interest and sympathy with which I shall constantly watch the fortunes of your Service in years to come. My interest will be the greater because we are on the eve of great changes, and in the readjustments that will have to be made there will be much work to be done that will make demands on all your foresight, your good sense and your loyalty. I am confident that the Indian Police will always maintain the high standard of achievement it has set itself, and will continue to take an honoured place among the Police forces of the world.

ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.

In reply to the Address from the Indian Christian Community on 30th March 1931, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

30th March
1931,

It is more than kind of you to have come here this afternoon to bid good-bye to Lady Irwin and myself on behalf of the Indian Christian Community. In that community, I am glad to think, we count many friends, whom we have met during our time in India, and I am

Garden Party given by the Citizens of Delhi.

glad to have been given this opportunity through you of wishing them and all members of your body the most cordial of farewells.

For all that you have said this afternoon, I thank you warmly. If I have been able, during these past five years, to help forward at all the task of working for the greater contentment and happiness of the people of this country, I can only express gratitude for having been given the opportunity to take part in that great endeavour. The basis of such contentment must, as you have said, be an abiding spirit of mutual goodwill and respect between our two countries, and I shall constantly be associated with you in the hope that the ideal of fellowship and human brotherhood may inspire all races, all classes, and all creeds in the common service of your country and its people. Especially do I join you, at this juncture, in the hope that the present constitutional discussions, in which I have been privileged to take a certain part, may find a happy issue and provide a solution of the difficulties which have yet to be surmounted.

In all these matters you and your community will I hope take your due share, for you have, as we all here believe, a great contribution to make to the social and political life of India. In taking leave of you therefore I can assure you that I shall watch future developments in which you will be concerned with close attention, and pray always that the work it may be given to you to do may be worthy of the Faith you represent, and redound to the honour of your motherland.

GARDEN PARTY GIVEN BY THE CITIZENS OF DELHI.

8th April
1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Garden Party given by the Citizens of Delhi at Talkatora Gardens on 8th April 1931 :—

Gentlemen,—In six days Lady Irwin and I shall

Garden Party given by the Citizens of Delhi.

have to say goodbye to this city, which during our residence here for the last five cold winters has taken such a deep and constantly growing hold upon our affections. There can indeed be few places, in the length and breadth of India, which make a surer appeal to anyone who loves the beauties of Indian architecture, old and new, or who is fascinated by the long pageant of history that has been staged on this ground of Delhi. Some of that history is written in crumbling stones and vanishing walls, some of it in exquisite buildings that recall the great names of ancient Kings and Emperors, and the latest of all in the new Capital whose formal opening was inaugurated only a few weeks ago, and which is a worthy successor to the greatest of the cities which have gone before her. Today in Shahjahanabad and in Raisina the life of Delhi throbs perhaps more fully than ever before.

To say goodbye for the last time to this place and to its people will be a sad moment for us both. This afternoon, by the kindness of the leading gentlemen of Delhi, we have been given an opportunity, amid these beautiful surroundings, of meeting a great number of its residents, and we are deeply grateful for the hospitality which has been shown to us and for the way in which so many of our friends have gathered here to bid us farewell. In the address to which we just had the pleasure of listening you have said many very kind things about us both, and you can be sure that we in our turn wish that all good fortune and all happiness may attend the future life of Delhi and its citizens.

Delhi, old and new, is a heritage of which you may well be proud, and I am confident that it will always be the endeavour of those responsible for its administration to make it a worthy setting for the Central Government of a great country. Much has been conceived for the

Garden Party given by the Citizens of Delhi.

improvement and development of the old city, but much still remains to be done, as anyone can realise who has visited some of the poorer quarters of the town. The comprehensive scheme which was drawn up some three years ago is a considerable step in the right direction, and I would take this opportunity of emphasising that, though the Government of India have recognised their responsibility for meeting a large part of the expenditure, there is an obligation on the city to contribute its own share. Apart too from technical services, which are but the apparatus of health, there is much to be done by way of education of the masses before a really healthy population can be produced.

It has been a great disappointment to me that circumstances have prevented further progress with the construction of a hospital on the foundation stone I laid last year. I earnestly hope to hear before long that a solution of the difficulties has been found, and that this work, whose noble purpose it is to relieve suffering and sickness, is on its way to completion.

You have also been good enough to make reference to the part I have been able to play in the great task, which faces us all, of building, as you say, a newer and better India. I thank you warmly for all that you have said, and I echo your hope that those varying interests, on whose statesmanship the strength of that structure will largely depend, may be united in a common purpose to achieve a solution that may recognise and respect all claims that need adjustment and have a title to be heard.

How seriously that purpose must be frustrated by senseless outrages, of which we have just seen another example in the murderous attack upon a District Officer in Bengal, must be patent to anyone who has given thought to the foundations upon which all well-ordered society rests. It must be the duty of any Government

Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

to fight to the uttermost the creed which encourages such outrages, and I trust that every sane citizen will feel it incumbent upon him to use all his influence for the condemnation and prevention of such deeds which bring shame to the cause they profess to serve.

I conclude, gentlemen, by thanking you again for all your kindness to Lady Irwin and myself this afternoon, for many kindnesses shown us in the past, and for your generous good wishes for the future. We shall never forget them, and our thoughts will often turn back to you and to the place you are fortunate enough to be able to call your home.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE.

In reply to the Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce H. E. the Viceroy said :—

16th April
1931.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I remember well, just over five years ago, listening to the address with which your Chamber so kindly welcomed me on my arrival in India, and thinking what a long time five years of office then appeared to be. In retrospect it has seemed all too short, at least too short to see the fulfilment of many of one's hopes or of the important political developments to which you have just referred. You have however been good enough to speak appreciatively of the part it has fallen to me to play in the course of those five years, and I thank you warmly for what you have said. History has indeed moved fast in the decade since the inauguration of the Reforms, and few, I think, would have then forecast that the year 1930 would see a distinguished and representative delegation from India conferring round a table

Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

in London with His Majesty's Government on those momentous matters, with which all here are now familiar. When the Conference resumes its labours, and approaches the later difficult and delicate stages of its task, it will surely do so with the cordial goodwill of all those who, like yourselves, look forward to an India growing to its full strength on lines of sound constitutional development.

As to those administrative matters in which you are interested and which you have mentioned in your Address, I do not propose to speak at length. For, as you know, I am forced by the pressure of other engagements to be brief, and it is moreover difficult for a departing Viceroy to do more in such matters, however important they may be, than to commend them to the earnest consideration and attention of his successor. This I will certainly do, and you know well that I could do so to no more sympathetic listener than to Lord Willingdon, who comes to you with the advantage, possessed I think by no previous Viceroy, of wide practical knowledge of Indian problems and of close personal friendship with so many of India's people. I think I may claim to have always done my best to help forward any measures, such as those of which you have spoken, designed to stimulate or develop the commercial, industrial and agricultural life of India. For, though opinions may differ on the forms of government and constitutions, there is no dispute as to the obligation resting upon every Government to foster that material prosperity, upon which the happiness and the peace of a country so largely depend. I only wish that the economic blight, which has descended upon the world during recent months, had not for the time deprived all Indian Governments of the financial resources requisite to give practical shape to their desires.

You have however had as the Head of your administration during these difficult times one who by his understanding and sympathy has gained the confidence of all

Farewell Address from the Bombay Mill-owners' Association.

sections of the community, and I know that all here present would join me in paying tribute to the value of the services he has rendered to Bombay. Sir Frederick Sykes has, to our great regret, been forced under medical advice to take a brief holiday from his arduous labours. We all wish him a speedy return, and a complete restoration to health, and we may also express our warm good wishes to a tried and trusted servant of the Bombay Presidency, Sir Ernest Hotson who, at no small inconvenience to himself, will take up the reins of office during Sir Frederick's absence.

To no part of your Address did I listen with greater pleasure than to your expression of gratification at the result of my recent conversations with Mr. Gandhi and at the prospect of achieving conditions in which everyone may work together with greater trust and understanding. For my own part there is no consummation for which I more earnestly pray, or to which, after I have left India, my thoughts will be more constantly directed.

It remains now to take my last farewell of you. I have been greatly touched by your kindness in coming here this morning to speed Lady Irwin and myself upon our way, and on her behalf, as on my own, I thank you from the bottom of my heart. I need hardly say, Gentlemen—for I am sure you know it—that, in parting from India, we leave with you and with the great commercial interests you represent all our good wishes for better times and our warmest sympathy in your present difficulties. Goodbye and good luck to you all.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY MILL-OWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

In reply to the Farewell Address from the Bombay Mill-owners' Association, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

16th April
1931.

Gentlemen,—The hospitality of Bombay must be my excuse if my reply to your address is brief. But in the

Farewell Address from the Bombay Mill-owners' Association.

all too short period of my last visit I am to have the pleasure of receiving four addresses, and time, our inexorable master, will not stay.

I am most grateful to you for your address and for the occasion which it has afforded to me of meeting once more the members of a body, which has so large a part to play in the economic life of the City of Bombay. Your members have been through hard times, due to many causes on which it is not now necessary for me to dwell. I was glad when the Government of India were able to give some practical assistance to the industry, even at the expense of inevitable reproaches from other quarters. And I need not assure you that I shall continue to watch your future with close interest.

You have referred, Mr. Chairman, in kindly terms to my work in India during the last five years. They have been difficult years, more difficult indeed even than I anticipated when I first came among you. But I shall always be grateful that I was given this opportunity to play a part in these great events, and to do what I might to guide their course. The end of the road, as you say, is not yet, and much still remains to be done. You, Mr. Chairman, were able to take a very useful part in the Round Table Conference, and will I hope before long be carrying the work further that was there so well begun. You, gentlemen, I would ask to use all your efforts to bring about a happier understanding among all those in India, upon whom you can exert your influence.

For, if we are to realise the ideal of partnership between two great peoples, to which your address alludes, then we must dethrone from men's hearts the discord, mistrust and misunderstanding which for the last three years have perpetually blocked the path, and we must exalt in their place the true desire and determination for

Farewell Address from the Bombay Mill-owners' Association.

peace. We have a chance to do so now, and I would ask every member of Government, all political parties and communities, to do their utmost alike to seize it. If we could only all join together, European and Indian, communities, parties, official and non-official, in a single united effort, we should already be more than half way to success.

I believe that the settlement, with which Mr. Gandhi was so closely associated and which I know he is doing his best to implement, has been of great value in one special direction, in assisting towards the removal of these doubts and misgivings ; but I cannot conceal from myself that here also much remains to be done. I particularly regret the tendency, manifest in some quarters, to regard the immediate future as a period of truce, of which advantage should be taken to reorganise forces for a further struggle, since the state of mind it represents is not only inconsistent with the whole-hearted discharge of the obligations which the settlement imposes, but contains within it dangerous germs of trouble. It is a continuous menace to the peace which it was our intention, and remains my dearest desire, to see re-established. On the one hand, it arouses forces which those who call them into being may find difficult of control ; on the other hand, it necessarily imposes on Government the duty of preparedness for counter action, and I fully recognise that the discharge of this duty must inevitably in its turn breed distrust.

Let all men therefore pursue peace, not as a temporary expedient, but as an enduring blessing, and I have no doubt that it is thus and thus only that the abiding interests of India can be served.

Gentlemen, I must conclude. Lady Irwin and I shall leave India with your good wishes echoing in our ears. For these we thank you again, and, in my turn, I wish you and those for whom you speak all happiness and good fortune.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE MUSLIM COMMITTEE
OF BOMBAY.

16th April 1931. In reply to the Address from the Muslim Committee of Bombay, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is most kind of you to have gathered here this morning, and to join in the series of farewells which the people of Bombay have been good enough to arrange for Lady Irwin and myself. I greatly value the opportunity, not so much of elaborating my views on any of the momentous questions now at issue—for time is already short enough for my many engagements—as of saying good-bye, through the representative body here present, to the great Muslim community, whose interests are and always will be to me a matter of deep concern. You would not, I think, wish me to go deeply into the intricacies of such matters as electorates, weightage in favour of minority communities, and other particular safeguards which may be necessary for the fair adjustment of conflicting claims. Most of those matters have, as you say, been dealt with in our Despatch upon this subject, and more lately by the Round Table Conference, which is now having a breathing space after its strenuous labours, but will, I hope, resume before long its important deliberations. On some of these questions general agreement was reached at the Conference ; on others I believe the overwhelming majority of Muslims throughout India feel even more strongly today than ever before. Many persons think quite honestly that they are mistaken in their views, and in the tenacity with which they hold them. But that is not the real point at issue. Indian opinion of all sorts is now striving to lay the political foundations of a homogeneous nation. And, if there is one thing more certain than another, it is that no political society can prosper or be at peace within itself, unless minorities included in it are reasonably satisfied with their conditions. Therefore it is no answer to say that particular provisions

Farewell Address from the Muslim Committee of Bombay.

that minorities deem essential for their interests are inimical to the evolution of Indian nationhood, for this ultimately depends upon a consideration far more fundamental, namely, the contentment of those who form a vital part of the whole society. And that is the end that must constantly be kept in view. Therefore, if, as I believe to be the case, there is a wide feeling of apprehension among minorities, and if I may offer a word of personal advice, I would say that the only wise course for the majority community is frankly to recognise these apprehensions, unfounded though they may adjudge them to be, and be prepared to give them the reassurance that they desire and claim until such time as, of their own free choice, the minorities are with substantial unanimity prepared to let it go.

No one can exaggerate the harm brought by these recent savage outbursts in Cawnpore and other places in the United Provinces, and it is inevitable that they should have greatly hardened Muslim opinion, so that in present circumstances the hope of settlement seems remote. If however the majority community, acting with sound political judgment, could see their way to give the message I have suggested to their Moslem fellow-countrymen, I believe its immediate effect would be to work such a change in Moslem feeling as would alter the whole atmosphere for the better, and make the whole problem very much less intractable than it unhappily is today.

You were good enough just now to express the hope that the experience I have been able to acquire during my five years as Viceroy would not be entirely lost to India. I can assure you that I look upon that experience as far too precious and privileged a possession to be lightly laid aside, and it will always be my endeavour to interpret to English opinion what I believe to be the ideals and aspirations of the Indian people. The thought

Farewell Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

that in years to come there will still be that work to do, and the knowledge that that work will help to keep me in touch, personally or by correspondence, with many of the friends I have made in India, go far to reconcile me to the parting which I shall have to take two days hence.

In taking this farewell of you, and in thanking you, on Lady Irwin's behalf and on my own, for the kind things you have said this morning, I need not assure you that any influence or knowledge that may be mine will continue to be at the service of India, and that no warmer wishes than my own will always accompany those who are loyally striving for her greater good.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

18th April 1931. In reply to the Farewell Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin and I have had during the last few weeks to take many sad farewells. The final parting, the saddest of all, has now come, and a few brief moments are all that is left of five years which, if they have been laborious, I can truly say have been not less a labour of love. To Sir Frederick Sykes, who has given himself unsparingly to the service of this Presidency, to you, Your Highnesses, and to you, ladies and gentlemen, who have gathered here to bid us good-bye, our thanks are due for thus speeding us on our way. To the Corporation of Bombay, to whose generous words we have just listened, we are more than grateful for their kindness. It is fitting that this last address in India should come from the body responsible for the welfare of this great and beautiful seaport, and beneath the shadow of the Gateway where so many players upon the stage of India “have their exits and their entrances”.

Farewell Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Of the particular matters, important as they are, concerned with the administration of this city or of India I do not propose, at the very moment of my departure, to speak, except to say that any question which touches the welfare of town or country, of Indians in India or Indians overseas, has always had, and will always command, my unfailing sympathy. An equal sympathy, as I am sure you know, is Lady Irwin's, and I would join her name with mine in all that we can express of gratitude and good-will to this land and to its people. India, and not least Bombay, has good cause to welcome back to her shores two of India's truest friends, Lord and Lady Willingdon, who, as all here know, will devote once more to this country qualities of understanding and sympathy which are theirs in no common measure, and for which there was never greater need.

From the day I landed in India five years ago, I knew that my main task—apart from the day-to-day work of administration—would be concerned with the investigation which was to be the first step in the building of a new constitution for India, and with the subsequent stages through which these grave matters would have to pass. As to whether the estimate I have made from time to time of Indian opinion, or the advice I have given to His Majesty's Government upon this subject, has proved right or wrong, or whether the methods employed by one side or another have been justified by the result, it is still too early to pronounce. We have been faced with difficulties, some that we might have foreseen and perhaps avoided, some that were inherent in the conditions with which we have to deal. The judgment of all this must be left to the cold and impartial gaze of history, by the verdict of which for my own part I am well content to abide. But one thing I have never doubted, and if my memory serves me I have more than once affirmed, that the only way of

Farewell Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

achieving the end, which I believe we all desire, was by a synthesis of the best statesmanship of East and West, by the collaboration of two partners working side by side, not in any huckstering spirit as to who would get the best of a hard bargain, not with a view to this or that individual or this or that community gaining an advantage or victory over a rival, but with the sole purpose of creating and perpetuating a prosperous, strong and contented India embracing both British India and the States as an honoured member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The end of that task, as you have said, is not yet. Though much has been accomplished, the stiffest part of the hill is yet, I think, to come. To none of us is it given to cast a true horoscope of the future, or to foresee clearly the final shape of the great design, on which for a while we are set to labour. The work of any man, or of any generation of men, is a small factor in the evolution of a nation, and will surely be weighed in larger balances than we know. The ultimate issue of that for which we are jointly striving lies indeed in other and wiser hands, but I know that my own hope and confidence in its attainment is shared by that old and trusted friend of India, to whom I am now handing over my duties and responsibilities. Under Providence may he guide India to peace and happiness.

In front of The Viceroy's House in New Delhi stands a column, presented by the late Maharaja of Jaipur, on which are inscribed the words :—

“ In Thought Faith

In Word Wisdom.

In Deed Courage

In Life Service

So may India be great.”

Farewell Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

I can wish India nothing better, and so I would say to you and to all those in this country that I have tried to serve, "In your thinking, in your speaking, and in your doing, God be with you."

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